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VOLUNTARY DEFECTION
FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Case Histories)

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I. INTRODUCTION

This is the first of a series of studies on voluntary defections. It consists of an analysis of the writings of fifteen individuals, all but one of whom is an intellectual.

Thirteen of the individuals were Communist Party members, while two others felt an extremely close attachment to the movement. Each voluntarily severed his Party affiliation or lost his affection for the Soviet experiment.

For purposes of clarity and understanding, the narratives of each have been divided into the following categories:

Why They Join

Why They Stay

Why They Defect

Knowledge of those forces to which men respond in joining, remaining in, and departing from the Party may lay the basis for a defection program which aims at utilizing those individuals in whom the spirit of voluntary defection is developing.

In presenting this material, each defector has been permitted to speak for himself in order that the reader might capture and understand the spirit in which he acted at each stage. This is done in the thought that others inclining toward self-defection in the future will follow a similar pattern.

The emotional responses, anxieties and moods which are so much a part of these defection processes would be lost if a brief summarization were attempted. That would make the study cold and statistical. A voluntary defection is an intensely personal matter in which men's feelings are apt to be more vulnerable and manageable than their reasons. The tragedies and shocks, and the emotional effects of these tragedies and shocks, are fissures in the ideological armor which can be exploited if fully understood. Only by letting these people tell their own stories in their own way can we fully appreciate the human factor involved.

Other case histories will be published in this series when available. The "defection" of Tito and Cucchi-Magnani Case have been added in order to present more recent material, and also in order to illustrate the all-pervading theme of the clash and conflict between the non-Russian Communist and the Soviet system.

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II. BIOGRAPHY

There follows a brief biographical sketch of each person whose experiences have been related.

1. Arthur KOESTLER

KOESTLER was born in Hungary. He is an intellectual who joined the German Communist Party on December 31, 1931, and left it in the spring of 1938. He was imprisoned by the Franco forces in Spain during the Civil War. He is an author of note.

2. Bob DARKE

DARKE is an Englishman and was a member of the British CP for eighteen years until his resignation in May 1951. He was not a rank-and-file Communist but a "Cadre Leader who got his orders in confidential form from Harry POLLITT." He had been a member of the Party's National Industrial Committee for ten years. He was elected the Communist Party delegate to his Borough Council.

3. Douglas HYDE

HYDE is also an Englishman, and, until his resignation, was News Editor of the London Daily Worker, organ of the British Communist Party

4. Freda UTLEY

Miss UTLEY is an Englishwoman who was reared in a socialist atmosphere in her home. She married a Russian national. She joined the British CP in September 1927. She lived in Japan for one year while her husband served the Soviet government there. For many years she resided in Russia with her husband, and took leave of both Russia and Communism in 1936, after her husband had been imprisoned and all hope of regaining his liberty was lost.

5. Charlotte HALDANE

Mrs. HALDANE is an Englishwoman who was "strongly inclined to radicalism," as she expressed it. She married the famous Professor J. B. S. HALDANE, with whom she journeyed to Russia in 1928. She joined the British CP in 1937, worked as a voluntary underground worker in Paris for the Comintern, and went to China as a Comintern agent. She is now divorced from Professor HALDANE. She defected voluntarily from the British CP in 1941, after returning to England from a trip to the Soviet Union as a war correspondent.

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6. Elizabeth BENTLEY

Miss BENTLEY is an American woman who became identified with the American CP during the 1930's via the American League Against War and Fascism. She was employed by the Italian Library of Information, which was legitimate employment, but, through which, she was able to pick up information which could be used by the Party. She reported the fact to the Party and was put in touch with Jacob GOLOS, a leading member of the Soviet apparatus in the United States. She fell in love with GOLOS and lived with him. She served as a courier between GOLOS and the Washington, D. C., members of the apparatus. She also served as a spotter and recruiter for the Soviet apparatus. With the death of GOLOS, difficulties developed for her with Earl BROWDER and with the Soviet underground which eventually took her out of the movement.

7. Stuart BROWNE

BROWNE is a pseudonym for an American university professor who joined the American CP in the 1930's and remained a member for two years.

8. Louis BUDENZ

BUDENZ is an American intellectual who joined the American CP in the 1930's and defected voluntarily in 1945. During his Party career he was Editor of the Mid-West Daily Record, an organ of the Party, as well as Editor of the Daily Worker of New York City, the official organ of the Party. He also worked with the Soviet Intelligence apparatus in the preliminaries which led to the murder of Leon TROTSKY.

9. Richard WRIGHT

WRIGHT is an American Negro and an intellectual. He was a member of the American CP for a period of about two years during the mid-1930's. He resigned from the Party after having had considerable trouble within its ranks because of his independence of thought and action. He is an author of note.

10. Louis FISCHER

FISCHER is an American and a professional journalist and writer. He has never been a member of any political party. For many years he was a correspondent in Russia where he became a scholar and an authority on Soviet affairs. Though never identified with the Communist Party of any country, he was admittedly most favorably inclined toward the Soviets until his disillusionment. He is the author of several well-known books on world affairs.

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11. Andre GIDE

GIDE was a Frenchman, a scholar and a writer of prominence. He was independently wealthy, and was never compelled to earn a living. Although never actually a member of the Communist Party, he was much interested in the Communist experiment in Russia, and thought that salvation of humanity lay in the Communism which he presumed to exist in the Soviet Union. In June, 1936, on the invitation of the Soviet Society of Authors, he visited Russia. His disillusionment was spontaneous and abrupt.

12. Ignazio SILONE

SILONE is an Italian. In 1921 he took part in the founding of the Italian CP. He edited the weekly Avanguardia of Rome and the Lavoratore, a daily of Trieste. He was a member of the Italian Communist underground, and has been on intimate terms with the leaders of Soviet and European Communism. He voluntarily defected from the Communist Party in 1930. In 1940 he became identified with the Italian Socialist Party. He has authored several books.

13. Stephen SPENDER

SPENDER is an Englishman, an intellectual and a poet. He is a man of independent means. He was stimulated by the political movements of the 1930's, and wrote "Forward From Liberalism." This work attracted the attention of Harry POLLITT of the British CP, who invited SPENDER to visit him. POLLITT commented to SPENDER--"I was interested in your book. What struck me about it was the difference between your approach to Communism and mine. Yours is purely intellectual." As a result of this meeting, SPENDER became a member of the British CP and remained a member for a few weeks during the winter of 1936-1937.

14. Hede MASSING

Mrs. MASSING was born in Vienna. There she met and married Gerhart EISLER who had assisted in the founding of the Austrian CP at the close of World War I, and who later became a prominent figure in the German CP, then in the American CP, and then back into the SED of East Germany. Through her Communist contacts in Europe, she became well acquainted with Richard SORGE who introduced her to Ignace REISS. The latter was one of the leaders of the Soviet espionage apparatus in Western Europe for many years. Hede MASSING served REISS in his espionage work, and later served the Soviet apparatus in the United States. She obtained her American citizenship through her marriage to her second husband who was an American citizen. In her last months prior to her defection, she was urged to return to the Soviet Union for rehabilitation. This she did, but with her return to the United States she voluntarily defected.

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15. Whittaker CHAMBERS

CHAMBERS is an American who joined the American CP in 1925. He worked on the staff of the Daily Worker, official organ of the Party. In 1929 he voluntarily left the Party for two years. In that period he did some writing which appeared in The New Masses, and which so attracted the attention of Moscow, because of its revolutionary approach, that he was invited back into the movement and was made editor of The New Masses. With the preparation of the third issue under his editorship, he was drawn into the Soviet espionage apparatus where he worked for the ensuing six years. During that six years, he became acquainted with many of the members of the Soviet underground in Washington and New York. He acted, in part, as a courier, picking up documents which the Washington nets were able to obtain and making the contents available to his Russian superiors. One of his principal contacts in Washington was Alger HISS. CHAMBERS rose to notoriety in his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and in two trials against HISS.

In 1938, CHAMBERS voluntarily defected from the movement. In 1939, he took employment with Time Inc., and in the next several years rose to occupy the position of Senior Editor. He forfeited this position when his testimony against HISS developed a storm of controversy.

He is the author of "Witness," an autobiography disclosing his career in the Communist movement.

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III. WHY THEY JOIN

A. Summary

The following is a summation of the reasons given by the persons who are the subject of this analysis for having joined the Party, or having embraced the Soviet experiment.

1. Revolt against

- a. Economic crisis-- poverty, misery, unemployment, human degradation, insecurity.
- b. Capitalist exploitation.
- c. War.
- d. Social environment--religious or other restraints; family discipline or attitude; drifting with no purpose or sense of direction; a sense of inferiority; class differences; a sense of social guilt; frustrations.

2. Search for

- a. An improved society--freedom, social justice, equality, the brotherhood of man, fulfillment of aspirations, the full emancipation of man, liberty, unity of racial groups.
- b. A meaning to life.

B. Narrative

1. Arthur KOESTLER

"... in December, 1931, at the age of 26, I joined the Communist Party of Germany

"I became converted because I was ripe for it and lived in a disintegrating society thirsting for faith. But the day when I was given my Party card was merely the climax of a development which had started long before I... heard the names of Marx and Lenin. Its roots reach back into childhood.

"I was ripe to be converted, as a result of my personal case-history; thousands of other members of the intelligentsia and the middle classes of my generation were ripe for it, by virtue of other personal case-histories; but, however much these differed from case to case, they had a common denominator; the rapid disintegration of moral values, of the pre-1914 pattern of life in postwar Europe, and the simultaneous lure of the new revelation which had come from the East. I joined the Party (which to this day remains 'the' Party for all of us who once belonged to it) in 1931."

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KOESTLER points out that factors were at work in the shaping of his thinking. In 1914, and as a result of the war, his father was ruined financially and never regained his feet. KOESTLER developed a "strong dislike for the obviously rich." He states-- "Thus I projected a personal predicament onto the structure of society;" though this type of thinking "did not, for a number of years, crystallize into a political creed." He speaks of a guilt complex which he developed, stating that as a youngster, he felt guilty when his folks bought him the books and toys which he knew they could not afford. "Every contact with people poorer than myself was unbearable." He disliked the rich, not because they could afford to buy things, but because they were able to do so without a guilty conscience. He states that--"A considerable proportion of the middle classes in central Europe was, like ourselves, ruined by the inflation of the 'twenties. It was the beginning of Europe's decline. This disintegration of the middle strata of society started the fatal process of polarization which continues to this day. The pauperized bourgeois became rebels of the Right or Left."

In generalizing on conversion to a revolutionary faith, KOESTLER states--"It is true that the case-histories of most revolutionaries and reformers reveal a neurotic conflict with family or society;" and that "All true faith involves a revolt against the believer's social environment."

2. Bob DARKE

"But I was hot for the cause. I and my family had felt the rough edge of capitalism. I hated it for its exploitation, its bitter cruelty and its relentless persecution of the unfortunate. In the face of this hatred I did not stop to ask myself whether this little society of cafe-revolutionaries had either the wit or ability to change the face of the earth."

"Until I joined the Party I was drifting. My father had taught me to trust in trade unionism. My brother John had taught me that a man was not a man until he fought for what he believed was right. Between the two of them they helped me to make up my mind."

"By 1933 I had seen enough in the East End to convince me that something violent, something drastic was needed. There was mass unemployment. Fascist street corner meetings were held every night; there were broken heads, Jew-baiting, all the ugly, dirty, mean business of worker fighting worker."

"The simple question: 'Why do people join the Party?' is perhaps as impossible to answer in general terms as another question: 'Why do people leave the Party?' In my own case I think that the same answer can be given to each question. I joined the Party because I could no longer tolerate a system which I believed to be bad. Party propaganda had told me that that system was doomed anyway and my efforts would hasten its end. I wanted to work for the improvement of society for freedom, justice, progress, and

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the full expression of Man's talent and ability. I still want to work for these things, but I know that I cannot do so inside the Party, that Communism will not bring them."

3. Douglas HYDE

"... it was indignation at the consequences of economic crisis, a revulsion against social injustice and hatred of war which had brought me, as they have brought so many, to communism."

In the process of being converted to communism HYDE asked-- "Why don't they do something for the unemployed? Why don't Christians do something to tackle the problem of poverty? Why do they not take up a positive stand against war and set about seriously trying to prevent another one? I asked these questions over and over again and got no answers which would satisfy me."

While entertaining these questions HYDE came upon the book of D. F. Buxton, "The Challenge of Bolshevism," which was sympathetic toward the Soviets. HYDE commented-- "It was exactly what I needed at the time. It resolved a crisis for me, clarified my position and accelerated my progress towards communism."

"Economic depression with its attendant suffering which had appalled me so much, had played its part in driving me into the ranks of the communists."

Commenting on the reasons for others joining the Party, HYDE stated-- "Most people who joined the Party did so because they were already in revolt. It might be against their own class; or against bad social conditions experienced in their own lives or observed as spectators with a sense of social guilt. It might be against religious or other restraint which they knew deep down to be right, but against which they had kicked or wished to kick. It might simply be against a sense of inferiority or aspirations unfulfilled which made them seek personal power or the strength which comes from collective discipline. Or, quite often, it would be because they were good enough and intelligent enough instinctively to revolt against drifting along with no sense of purpose or direction, and the Party was able to draw simultaneously upon their reserves of both good and bad, utilizing them for the cause of communism."

HYDE indicates that it is the existence of a "spiritual vacuum" which "gives communism its chance." He continues-- "I would say that the majority who come to communism do so because, in the first instance, they are subconsciously looking for a cause which will fill the void left by unbelief, or, as in my own case, an insecurely held belief which is failing to satisfy them intellectually and spiritually."

He also asserted that the ranks of the Party are augmented by starry-eyed idealists attracted by what seemed to be a great work for social justice.

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Family background and experience also had an influence upon HYDE. He explained that he "rebelled" against the "stifling narrowness" of his parents.

4. Freda UTLEY

Miss UTLEY was the daughter of a socialist. "His influence over me was profound, and he early implanted in my mind those libertarian values which have consciously or unconsciously motivated my life." Her first revolt came at private school. She rebelled at the discipline which required the wearing of certain apparel, as well as disciplined games. Of this she states--"The spirit of rebellion now, for the first time, had been awakened. Dimly I began to feel that the social hierarchy and the social code which governed our school were precisely that capitalist system which, as the daughter of a socialist, I had learned to think was the cause of all social injustice."

At the age of 17 her father lost his fortune, and thereupon the headmistress of the school denied her a scholarship. Like KOESTLER and the others, when she was compelled to leave school she was invested with what she called "personal experience to teach me that the social system could fling one into poverty from security, and prevent one from having an education even when one had proved one's mental qualifications."

"I came to communism via Greek history the French revolutionary literature I had read in childhood, and the English nineteenth-century poets of freedom." She said that she developed a "passion for the emancipation of mankind," and continued, "For me, then, the communist ideal seemed the fulfillment of the age-long struggle of mankind for freedom and justice." My studies, both of ancient history and modern economics, made me abhor servitude in any form, and the communists seemed to me to be the only socialists who really believed in world-wide equality and liberty."

She first became active in the Socialist movement, but the General Strike in Britain in 1926, "was the turning point of my political development. The betrayal of high hopes by the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party led me into the Communist fold, convinced of the reality of the class war, and that socialism could not be obtained gradually. It seemed to me that there was no solution for unemployment and low wages under capitalism, and that only the overthrow of the capitalist system and the 'unity of the workers of the world' could save humanity."

Miss UTLEY, like Bob DARKE, found the same reason for entering and leaving the Communist Movement, as she put it, "a passion for the emancipation of mankind."

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Mrs. HALDANE is the former (divorced) wife of the famous British scientist, J. B. S. HALDANE.

She emphasized, in her own case as well as in many others, the effect of an "unstable and insecure background" which provides one with an "inferiority complex" and "an anxiety neurosis." Her hatred and resentment toward her parents caused her to become more aggressive than was "desirable." Her father had "overruled and frustrated" her "every ambition and aspiration." Then she became an atheist and a socialist. She was seeking emotional compensation for her youthful "frustrations." By marrying Haldane she got economic security and an assured social position for the first time since childhood. She had been deprived of the chance of going to a university. Her marriage to Haldane gave her this opportunity. Then she read the book, "Anti-Duhring," by Engels, which gave her an "emotional and intellectual stimulus" which converted her to Marxism. She was a fervent and fanatical believer until 1941.

She feels that her case is not unique, but representative in one detail or another, of the psychological conflicts that "lead most of the so-called intellectuals to Marxism, to its emotional, apart from its intellectual, rewards and compensations."

She joined the British CP in 1937. Both she and Haldane had been "left-wing intellectuals" before they met. "Temperamentally also, we were strongly inclined to radicalism; both of us were psychologically counter-suggestible types, but also capable of enthusiastic interest in the social experiments now beginning to take place in the world of politics and economics. So it was that we began to feel more than slight curiosity in the Soviet Union, and in the theories of Marx and Engels...."

She asserted that the middle-class Communist convert is "the type of person who, as the result of psychological strains and stresses, endured in childhood or adolescence, rebuts the discipline in which he has been brought up, but is compelled to seek another, still more rigorous; who has an emotional need for direction; who, however eminent intellectually, can find no inner peace, save on the basis of surrendering his individual moral and political judgment to 'democratic centralism'."

She speaks of "frustration" as a motivating factor in conversion to Communism--what she calls the "desire for change, even for violent change, whether in oneself or one's environment." Of this, she says--"It may spring from a sense of insecurity, from a lack of emotional comfort."

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6. Elizabeth BENTLEY

"... reluctantly I had come to the conclusion that the world I had been born into was crumbling under the impact of a new mechanistic civilization. We had needed a new faith that reaffirmed the brotherhood of man and the worth of the individual. I had thought, and in my groping, I found a seeming answer in Communism."

7. Stuart BROWNE

"But I must not give the impression that my decision (to join the CP, USA) was the result of an instantaneous conversion. For three years, the recent economic depression had been very active on our campus. We had received three separate salary cuts totaling a reduction of thirty-five per cent."

"I joined the Party because I believed it would foster and protect that precious freedom which we Americans believe is so necessary to life. My communist friend made me feel that at last I had become a man, not just a narrow, cloistered parasite on the Capitalist system. Now I could join hands with the workers, I could call them Comrades, and then, after the Revolution, I and the other professors who were Comrades would run the University."

8. Louis BUDENZ

"Many Communists too, as was the case with myself, enter the movement through their sense of justice."

9. Richard WRIGHT

"It was not the economics of Communism, nor the great power of trade unions, nor the excitement of underground politics that claimed me; my attention was caught by the similarities of the experiences of workers in other lands, by the possibility of uniting scattered but kindred peoples into a whole. It seemed to me that here at last, in the realm of revolutionary expression, Negro experience could find a home, a functioning value and role."

10. Louis FISCHER

Though FISCHER was never a member of the Party he did favor the Soviet side, until the time of his disillusionment. He gave as his major reasons for his pro-Soviet views the economic crisis of capitalism and the danger of war.

He pointed out that the Soviet Union glorified the common man, offered him land and bread, peace, job, house, security, education, health, brotherhood of man, abolition of racial discrimination and inequality.

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"In a retrospect I see that I turned to Soviet Russia because I thought it had the solution of the problem of power. My acceptance of Soviet Russia was, I suspect, a by-product of my protest against the power over human beings which accumulated wealth and property give to their owners. Then Soviet Russia emerged, promising to break forever the power of landlords, trusts, big business exploiters, and private capital generally."

11. Andre GIDE

GIDE thought he would find in Communism a sense of obligation and responsibility, an ideal of service, the most complete expression of the individual, and the sanest and total form of liberty.

He committed himself uncompromisingly to the Communist solution for the ills of the world, and it was a kind of "religious conversion." "He condemned privilege, the favoritism of inheritance and the errors of capitalism." "Why do I long for Communism? Because I believe it to be equitable and because I suffer on account of the injustices which I feel more strongly than ever when it is I myself who am favored. Because the regime under which we live does not seem to me to protect men from the most grievous abuses. Because amongst conservatives I see only dead or dying things. Because it seems to me absurd to cling to things which have had their day. Because I believe in progress; because I prefer what is to be to what has ceased to exist. Why do I long for Communism? Because I believe that through it we shall be able to reach the highest culture and because it is Communism which can promote a new and better form of civilization."

"My conversion is like a faith. My whole being is bent towards one single goal, all my thoughts-- even involuntary -- lead me back to it. In the deplorable state of distress of the modern world, the plan of the Soviet Union seems to me to point to salvation. Everything persuades me to this."

12. Ignazio SILONE

SILONE "revolted against the old social order." He felt "a need for effective brotherhood, an affirmation of the superiority of the human person over all the economic and social mechanism which oppress him." In order to explain his adherence to Socialism he had to go back to his childhood, "to rediscover the very earliest origins of a view of society which, as it later on assumed a political form, was bound to reveal itself as radical."

He explains that he grew up "in a mountainous district of southern Italy where social relations were very often crude and full of hatred and deceit." He speaks of the "misery and desperation of southern provinces." He alludes to the "humiliated and downtrodden people." He asserts that "an earthquake achieves what the law promises but does not in practice maintain - equality of all men."

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He was incensed by the "innumerable intrigues, frauds, thefts, swindles, embezzlements, and dishonesty of every kind," which he found in State undertakings. He declared that "the facts which justified my indignation... stemmed directly from the district where I was born."

"For me to join the Party of Proletarian Revolution was not just a simple matter of signing up with a political organization; it meant a conversion, a complete dedication."

13. Stephen SPENDER

"I was driven on by a sense of social and personal guilt which made me feel firstly that I must take sides..." SPENDER asserts that it was the "virtues of love and pity and a passion for individual freedom which had brought me close to Communism."

SPENDER explains that it was "a whole chain of events that led to my attempt to compromise with the Party." Like SILONE, said SPENDER--"These go back to my childhood. What had impressed me most in the gospels was that all men are equals in the eyes of God, and that the riches of the few are an injustice to the many." He deplored "how unjust it seems that all men are not free to share what nature offers here" that there are those who throughout their lives are "sealed into leaden slums as into living tombs." He felt that "the unique condition of each person within life outweighs the considerations which justify class and privilege."

During a visit to Germany "the sense of humanity and social struggle re-awakened in me. Nearly every young German I met was poor, living from hand to mouth on little money." He continues--"Only when the crisis spread to Great Britain and other countries did I begin to realize that it was a disease of capitalism throughout the world. Gradually I became convinced that the only cure for unemployment, other than war, was an international society in which the resources of the world were exploited in the interests of all the people of the world."

"Moreover, if Communism produces victims, capitalism produces far more. What are the millions of unemployed in peacetime, the millions killed in wars, but the victims of capitalist competition? Capitalism is a system based on victimization in which the number of victims increases all the time. Communism is a system in which, theoretically--when all are Communists in a classless society--there will be no victims."

SPENDER explains that he argued with himself in this way in the early years of the 1930's, and stated that the arguments were reinforced "by feelings of guilt and the suspicion that the side of me which pitied the victims of revolution secretly supported the ills of capitalism from which I myself benefited."

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He came to the conclusion that "I would support the Revolution even if it meant the loss of my own social independence, just as I would accept the same losses in the event of being called up in a war."

He confesses to have been favorably impressed by the Russian films Earth, Potemkin, Way Into Life, "which seemed to rank amongst the most exciting creative works of art of the twentieth century." He was also impressed by the books and articles of Louis Fischer and Maurice Hindus and others "which emphasized the great social progress made in the Soviet Union." He added--"The publication of the Soviet Constitution seemed to extend hope of an era of greater freedom in Russia."

"The slump of the 1930's, the catastrophe of the Weimar Republic, the fall of Socialist Vienna, all of them events which I witnessed more or less from the outside, had forced me to accept a theoretically Communist position."

Having so conditioned himself, SPENDER was ready for the final push which brought him into the ranks of the Party. He explained that it was Harry Pollitt's appeal to me to help in Spain (that) pushed me momentarily over into the Communist Party."

14. Hede MASSING

Mrs. MASSING was drawn into the Communist movement through her marriage to Gerhart Eisler, prominent Austrian and German Communist. In this sense her joining the movement differs from other case-histories.

She writes--"The pattern of my relationship with the Communist party was formed and, in a way, stabilized during those first few weeks when Gerhart introduced me to the proletarian movement. I was never to understand fully what it was all about, but I was to trust implicitly, and to be drawn to it because I believed its motives to be humanitarian."

Though Eisler did not permit her to join the Party, or to participate in its work, she had the opportunity of listening to him and other leading Communists, and "learned to love the idea of socialism, the idea of a better life for everyone."

"True, I never faced the reality of everyday work within the movement. I moved only among the upper crust of the Communists. But, nevertheless, my thinking and feeling were completely formed during these years."

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15. Whittaker CHAMBERS

"I was one of those drawn to Communism by the problem of war

"Only in Communism had I found any practical answer at all to the crisis, and the will to make that answer work. It was not an attractive answer, just as the Communist Party was not an attractive party. *****But it had one ultimate appeal. In place of desperation, it set the word: hope. If it was the outrage, it was also the hope of the world. In the 20th century, it seemed impossible to have hope on any other terms."

"The ultimate choice I made was not for a theory or a party. It was--and I submit that this is true for almost every man and woman who has made it--a choice against death and for life. I asked only the privilege of serving humbly and selflessly that force which from death could evoke life, that might save, as I then supposed, what was savable in a society that had lost the will to save itself. I was willing to accept Communism in whatever terms it presented itself, to follow the logic of its course wherever it might lead me, and to suffer the penalties without which nothing in life can be achieved. For it offered me what nothing else in the dying world had power to offer at the same intensity--faith and a vision, something for which to live and something for which to die. It demanded of me those things which have always stirred what is best in men--courage, poverty, self-sacrifice, discipline, intelligence, my life, and, at need, my death."

"... a man does not, as a rule, become a Communist because he is attracted to Communism, but because he is driven to despair by the crisis of history through which the world is passing "

"In the West, all intellectuals become Communists because they are seeking the answer to one of two problems: the problem of war or the problem of economic crises. This is not to say that personal factors play no part in making a man a Communist. Obviously, they do, if only because every man's character and experience, and therefore his biography, are different from every other man's. No two are ever the same. Hence some men will always be more susceptible to Communism than other men. "

"Both crises are aspects of a greater crisis of history for which Communism offers a plausible explanation and which it promises to end. When an intellectual joins the Communist Party, he does so primarily because he sees no other way of ending the crisis of history. In effect, his act is an act of despair, regardless of whether or not that is how he thinks of it. And to the degree that it is an act of despair, he will desire the party to use him in overcoming the crisis of history which is at the root of his despair."

"Nor do Marxist dialectics or Marxian economic theories have much to do with the reason why men become and remain Communists. I have met few Communists who were more than fiddlers with the

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dialectic. . . . I have met few Communists whom I thought knew more than the bare rudiments of Marxian economics, or cared to. But I have never known a Communist who was not acutely aware of the crisis of history whose solution he found in Communism's practical program, its vision and its faith."

"Few Communists have ever been made simply by reading the works of Marx or Lenin. The crisis of history makes Communists; Marx and Lenin merely offer them an explanation of the crisis and what to do about it."

"Under pressure of the crisis, his decision to become a Communist seems to the man who makes it as a choice between a world that is dying and a world that is coming to birth, as an effort to save by political surgery whatever is sound in the foredoomed body of the civilization which nothing less drastic can save--a civilization foredoomed first of all by its reluctance to face the fact that the crisis exists or to face it with the force and clarity necessary to overcome it."

"Communism is never stronger than the failure of our faiths."

"CHAMBERS also discussed the factors motivating men earning good incomes to join the Party. He said that their incomes do not necessarily blind them to the critical period through which they may be passing. "Such people, in fact, may feel a special insecurity and anxiety. They seek a moral solution in a world of moral confusion. Marxism-Leninism offers an oversimplified explanation of the causes and a program for action. The very vigor of the project particularly appeals to the more or less sheltered middle-class intellectuals, who feel that there the whole context of their lives has kept them away from the world of reality. They feel a very natural concern, one might almost say a Christian concern, for underprivileged people. They feel a great intellectual concern at least for recurring economic crises, the problem of war, which in our lifetime has assumed an atrocious proportion, and which weighs on them."

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IV. WHY THEY STAY

A. Summary

The following is a summation of the reasons given by the fifteen persons studied for remaining in the Party or continuing to be attached to the movement.

1. Communism provides an answer to every question, doubts and conflicts are at an end.
2. The Party works a transformation of character in its members; there is a gradual warping of the personality.
3. The Party is the whole life of the member.
4. The Party is infallible.
5. New and important human relationships are formed in the Party; warm friendship.
6. Party members purge themselves of all honest and refreshing doubt and independence of thought; they fall under the spell of pro-Russian propaganda; there is a loss of intellectual sense of direction; the vocabulary and the thinking are reconditioned; critical faculties become numbed.
7. Faith.
8. Dedication to a cause; an ideal; a philosophy of life.
9. Blind loyalty to the Party; loyalty to the rank-and-file.
10. The expectation of better things to come; the end justifies the means.
11. Party discipline; the automatic acceptance of decisions.
12. A sense of self-importance; membership in the elect or elite.
13. A sense of doing; a sense of participation in a revolutionary transformation.
14. A sense of belonging; unity of workers in a common cause; solidarity.
15. Fear--loss of friends; loss of prestige and position; loss of employment, and inability to get another job; fear of the void created by severance of Party ties; fear of character assassination; fear of physical injury; fear of the outside world.

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B. Narrative

1. Arthur KOESTLER

Once having joined the Party, KOESTLER writes--"There is now an answer to every question, doubts and conflicts are a matter of the tortured past--a past already remote, when one lived in dismal ignorance in the tasteless, colorless world of those who don't know. Nothing henceforth can disturb the convert's inner peace and serenity--except the occasional fear of losing faith again, losing thereby what alone makes life worth living, and falling back into the outer darkness, where there is wailing and gnashing of teeth."

KOESTLER also speaks of the importance of "the gradual transformation of character and of human relationships which a long Party career infallibly produced," as a factor in keeping a member close to the Party.

To the Party member, "Both morally and logically the Party was infallible."

Other factors impelling his continuance in the Party are listed by KOESTLER as follows--

"... our brains had been reconditioned to accept any absurd line of action ordered from above as our innermost wish and conviction."

"Not only our thinking, but also our vocabulary was reconditioned."

"Our literary, artistic and musical tastes were similarly reconditioned."

He also observes--"... our critical faculties had become so numbed..."

Faith in what the Party stood for despite the weaknesses of the organization was a force to be reckoned with in keeping KOESTLER and others in the Party. He writes--

"But we never tired of telling each other--and ourselves--that the Party could only be changed from inside, not from outside. **** Once you stepped out of it you were extra muros and nothing which you said or did had the slightest chance of influencing its course. The only dialectically correct attitude was to remain inside, shut your mouth tight, swallow your bile and wait for the day when, after the defeat of the enemy and the victory of World Revolution, Russia and the Comintern were ready to become democratic institutions. Then and only then would the leaders be called to account for their actions: the avoidable defeats, the wanton sacrifices, the mud-stream of slander and denunciation, in which the pick of our comrades had perished. Until that day you had to play the game--confirm and deny, denounce and recant, eat your words and lick your vomit; it was the price you had to pay for being allowed to continue feeling useful, and thus keep your perverted self-respect."

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2. Bob DARKE

"... a Communist hands himself over to the Party when he joins. He abandons all other spiritual supports, all other faiths. He lets the Party take responsibility for his conscience and his actions. He accepts the Party as a guide, as a Father Confessor. It does his thinking and his feeling for him. It promises him the Revolution in return for his blind loyalty. If it turns against him in anger or disgust he has nothing, and must be like the young child who incurs its mother's anger. He is alone. He thinks himself the luckiest man on earth if the Party forgives him and gives him a chance of working his passage back."

DARKE explains that--"The party demands sacrifices from him, demands discipline, and in return offers him the exciting feeling of dedication. The greater the hardship the greater the sense of dedication."

DARKE agrees with KOESTLER when he states--"I do know that membership in the Party can change a man's nature."

As a factor in staying in the Party DARKE explains--"The self-disciplined Communist is one who purges himself of all genuine self-criticism, all honest and refreshing doubt, all tolerance and independence of thought."

DARKE asserts that his Party burdens were personally very heavy, but then reasons--"And if ever I grew impatient with this, why the Revolution was around the corner, wasn't it?"

DARKE explains that many a member is impelled to accept unjust Party discipline, and remain in the Party, "because his faith in the Marxism he does not understand is stronger than reason."

DARKE points out that in spite of unjust treatment at the hands of "disciplinary courts" the accused Party member "accepted the court because his initial acceptance of the Party and Party discipline made acceptance of all its decisions automatic."

DARKE emphasizes that while the Communist is taught to regard himself as a leader of the working class, he "is also taught to be an uncritical follower of his own leaders."

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3. Douglas HYDE

HYDE finds a variety of reasons why members remain in the Party. "Communism today gives men a sense of direction, a purpose in life, a cause to fight for, an ideal to sacrifice for and, if needs be, die for. It claims their zeal, their devotion, their loyalty. *****And so Communism appears to meet a fundamental need."

One Party member who had been spied upon and disciplined by the Party, explained to HYDE his reasons for remaining in the Party as follows:

"It's been my life for so long I can't bring myself to make the break. It seems easy enough when I remember the way I've been treated or when I think of some of the leaders. But then when I think of some of the rank and file who are the salt of the earth and who have believed in me for so long, I just can't bring myself to do something which will seem to them like a kick in the teeth."

To this HYDE commented--"That is the hold which Communism has on many people who joined its ranks as starry-eyed idealists or who were attracted by what seemed its great work for social justice and who have been drawn into its life to a point where they find it almost impossible to escape. The Party is so organized as to make communism the whole life of its members. They lose all their old friends. All their present comrades and associates are in the Party, it takes the whole of their waking time, at work, in their leisure, wherever they go. It controls their whole thought life. They spend their days thinking of how best to 'apply the Party line' to their own milieu. They genuinely believe that the Party gives them ample scope for thought, but are unable to see that it is never original thought, never anything more than applying to their own little world what has already been laid down in the greatest possible detail by the political bosses. To break from that vicious circle is not easy as was shown when an old friend and Party member got in touch with me a few days after my resignation."

The woman to whom HYDE was referring said that she would resign from the Party if he recommended, but that she might then commit suicide, stating--"You see I'm terrified of the vacuum that would be left in my life if I went."

HYDE indicated that many remain in the Party because nothing else will alone "represent a philosophy of life," and "would not fill the gaps left by the withering away of my communism."

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4. Freda UTLEY

The case-history of Freda UTLEY differs from others insofar as her reasons for remaining in the movement are concerned. She was married to a Soviet national, and lived with him in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the same freedom of choice of staying in or leaving the movement were not as open to her as to others. She continued to be identified with the movement in Russia until her husband was imprisoned and was lost to her forever. That was her only attachment to the movement, and when she was convinced that his freedom could not be retrieved she left Russia and the movement. Her disillusionment had already matured, and she gives enlightening reason for her disenchantment. These will appear later in other sections of this study.

Her reasons for joining the movement and the causes for her disaffection have been considered sufficiently significant to include her case-history here, among others.

5. Charlotte HALDANE

Mrs. HALDANE indicates that people stay in the Party because of a "deep and strong sense of guilt." In deciding to leave the Party she said--"I felt a traitor to the cause, especially to those comrades and of them particularly the dead, with whom I had shared my previous loyalties, during the war in Spain. To feel disloyal especially to the dead, to whom one cannot put one's case, nor explain one's impulses or conclusions, is a peculiarly unpleasant experience. The old school tie, whether it be black striped with pale blue, or bright red, is a symbol of immensely powerful compulsion. To repudiate it is an act, not of faith, but of will, demanding the strongest effort of which one may be capable. It is a kind of death which may or may not be followed by a resurrection."

In staying in the Party Mrs. HALDANE accuses herself of "... having fallen so completely under the spell of the pro-Russian propaganda of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Daily Worker that I had lost my intellectual sense of direction."

She gives some consideration to the cases of others and the reasons why they remain in the Party. She points out that some, "by dint of terrific striving, self-abnegation, intrigue and suffering" have ceased to be manual workers and have become executives with an office, a secretary, or even a large staff to command. Of a man falling into this category she states--

"He is almost certainly also married, with a family to support and educate. He is a man who for years has known the intoxication of his own oratory and the applause it commands; he had additionally achieved a flattering degree of notoriety and personal publicity. Now suppose that he finds himself no longer in agreement with the Party line, as dictated by Moscow; thinks it to be erroneous or

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dishonest. What does he do? Does he throw away the position he has during the best years of his life struggled for and achieved, or will he not cynically prefer to do violence to his private convictions, to what may remain of his spiritual integrity, rather than deviate one iota from what is expected of him by his political bosses in the Kremlin? Even if he had the courage to resist, what would be his future lot? To be outlawed by his former associates, to be branded 'traitor' and 'apostate', to be shunned like a leper by the comrades and friends of a lifetime, and to be thrown without private financial means on the labor market, to compete with far younger men in a trade he has not practiced for many years, and stigmatized by a political police record."

As for herself, she remained in the party, did the things which she did, "convincing myself that the end, the glorious and most worthy end, justified the means." Concerning some of the things she did, she asserts--"I had not even had pleasure from it, enjoyed doing it. I found it distasteful in the extreme and time and again offensive to my natural bent and good sense, but once having joined the Party I persevered in its service with masochistic devotion."

6. Elizabeth BENTLEY

Miss BENTLEY lists some of the deterrents which occurred to her when she was trying to make her break with the movement, and was trying to make up her mind to report her experiences to the FBI. She states--

"I must go to the FBI and tell them what I knew about Soviet undercover work in the United States so that they could break it up. Horror stricken, I shrank back from the idea; no. I couldn't do that. They were my enemies; they would beat me up, they would put me in jail, they might even kill me. And the Russian Secret Police! If I just slid out quietly and did nothing, they would leave me alone; but if I talked to the American authorities, they would certainly take drastic action--action that wouldn't be pleasant. They would start a smear campaign against me, as they had with all previous Communists who had broken and talked; they might even resort to physical reprisals and put me, too, six feet under, ***** Then the weight of the past crowded in on me; though I was gradually emerging from the grip of the Communist ideology, I found myself being pulled almost inexorably toward my past associations. Ten years before I had burned all my bridges behind me and in the interval had built up a new and happy life for myself, all centered on the Communist Party. As I sat there thinking, I realized that those had been the best years of my life; there I had found peace and security, and a sense of doing something constructive. My mind went back again into the past; I felt once more the warmth of comradeship, the close bond of experience shared, the sense of satisfaction that comes from an ideal believed in and fought for. Could I leave all that behind me and go out into a strange, cold world all alone? Did I have the strength to pull myself up by the roots and transplant myself to some new soil?"

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"And what would I face if I did? There would be no welcoming arms to receive me; my fellow Americans would regard me with suspicion and distaste. They would be unable to understand just why I had ever gotten into such an ugly business they would turn away from me in disgust and shun me as a leper. I would have no friends. But that would not be all. It would be difficult to find a job to support myself; the Communists would put every barrier in my way and I would have no help from anyone else. How would I eat?"

She discloses another strong reason for remaining in the Party when she states--". . . over the long years of indoctrination we had become so warped that we were no longer true to ourselves. I, somehow, had found my way out of this perverted thinking but the others were gradually being dragged deeper and deeper into a hell from which there was no possibility of escape."

7. Stuart BROWNE

"Day by day there were certain compensations to which a Party man clings. I believed that my work was helping the cause of labor, that I was closer to the living problems of history in the making. I also felt that I was doing something unselfishly to help remedy the evils in my own profession. The idea of all workers united in a common cause appealed to me."

8. Louis BUDENZ

"I had become convinced that the future was so well mapped out through my analyses of the world situation that this (conviction) served as an anchor in every stage of doubt about the Marxist theory or tactics. I was sold on the idea that I thought as a scientist."

Like others, BUDENZ mentions the effect of Party life upon the individual--"Gradually his personality is warped."

From 1941 to 1945, though entertaining doubts, he remained in the Party, as he expressed it in the ". . . hope for a Communist movement that would think in terms of America and would bring about understanding between Communism and the Catholic Church as the foundation for the future."

In October 1943, BUDENZ finally made up his mind to return to the Catholic Church, but--"Even at this hour of my spiritual advance, my outlook was tempered by the hope (now dimming rapidly) that Communism and Catholicism could be brought together. And still two more years of agonizing over that hope were still to follow before the promise which I had made to myself in 1941 and repeated in 1943 was fulfilled."

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Again in October 1944, he pledged himself once more to become a Catholic--"But there still remained the question of a final attempt at Catholic-Communist reconciliation."

BUDENZ remained in the Party until after the Duclos article* had appeared in 1945. He asserts that that article had nothing to do with his leaving the Party, but rather was it the result of a conversation which he held with William Z. Foster concerning the Duclos article. Foster had asserted to BUDENZ--"The two chief enemies of the Soviet Union and progress are American imperialism and the Vatican. They are eternal foes of Socialism and have to be fought endlessly." This ended the stay of BUDENZ in the Party.

- * The article, an attack by the French Communist leader and theoretician on the policies of the Secretary General of CPUSA, resulted in the latter's expulsion from the Party.

9. Richard WRIGHT

WRIGHT does not give specific reasons for remaining in the Party in spite of his difficulties with Party leaders. In the midst of his troubles he maintained his regard for the Soviet Union, thus showing a definite attachment to the movement. Said WRIGHT--"Of all the developments in the Soviet Union, the way scores of backward peoples have been led to unity on a national scale was what enthralled me."

That he was in rebellion, and that he wanted to be a Communist, even while at odds with the Party is evidenced by the following--"I wanted to be a Communist, but my kind of Communist."

The fact that he had some unexplained reason for lingering in the Party is shown by the following: "I wanted to tell him that I was through, but I was not ready to bring matters to a head." WRIGHT never disclosed the forces which deterred him from taking leave of the Party sooner than he did.

Even in his final despairing moments, when he was rejected by the Party and took his departure amid scenes of near-riot, he said--"I'll be for them even though they are not for me."

10. Louis FISCHER

Though FISCHER was never a member of the Party he was admittedly strongly in favor of the Soviets. He states he was able to maintain this attitude because "... my pro-Soviet attitude attained complete independence from day-to-day events." He confesses that some of the things which he reported from Russia "were no credit to Bolshevism, but that did not weaken my admiration of the Soviet system or my belief in its bright future." In FISCHER's mind Russia's "plans for the beautiful future shaped every judgment of the present." He points out that in spite of a maturing

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disenchantment with Russia, a number of events prevented him from rejecting the Soviet regime. The first was the advent of Hitler in 1933, the second being the Spanish Civil War in 1936. These two forces kept him aligned with the Soviet cause until the Soviet-Nazi Pact of 1939.

11. Andre GIDE

GIDE cannot be used to illustrate the forces which impel one to remain attached to a Party. He was not a Party member, and one visit to the Soviet Union brought an abrupt abandonment of his prior attachment to the Soviet experiment. Nonetheless, his reasons for siding with the movement, and his reasons for rejecting it, have seemed sufficiently cogent to have included GIDE in this study.

12. Ignazio SILONE

"... it should be emphasized that the links which bound us to the Party grew steadily firmer, not in spite of the dangers and sacrifices involved, but because of them."

".....there were some compelling reasons which made me hesitate to break with it; solidarity with comrades who were dead or in prison, the nonexistence at that time of any other organized anti-Fascist force in Italy, the rapid political and, in some cases, also moral degeneration of many who had already left Communism, and finally the illusion that the International might be made healthy again by the proletariat of the West, in the event of some crisis occurring within the Soviet regime."

13. Stephen SPENDER

SPENDER was a member of the British Communist Party for only a few weeks during the winter of 1936-37. His membership lapsed soon after he joined. In view of the brevity of his membership there is little evidence of his reasons for remaining in the Party.

It appears, however, that he remained devoted for the same reason that he joined. It will be remembered that it was Harry Pollitt's appeal that he help Spain that pushed SPENDER momentarily into the ranks of the Party. That urge seems to have kept him there for his short sojourn in the Party; he states that he returned to England from Spain full of enthusiasm. "I made speeches and served on committees.*****These were the days of the Popular Front. The emotion which gave life to this movement was a widespread revival of liberal feeling, yet there was no political party except the Communist to which this feeling could attach itself."

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14. Hede MASSING

Hede MASSING states that after having lived with Gerhart Eisler for a time "I did not know any other way of life. I had by this time lost track of how other people lived; I was unaware of life outside our circles."

"That I was important to the revolution to come, I was convinced. Each of us was important in this new world, each one of us would have a great and all-essential task to perform. No matter what our role, however small, we dramatized it. Though I understood little of the theories of Marx and Lenin, I was convinced that I was playing a tremendous role in history. Not that we spoke in such terms; it would have been considered banal or romantic--and who would have chanced that! Nevertheless, it was the deep feeling which each one of us had. This lifted us above ordinary life, made us proud and different and courageous. It made us seem to ourselves better than the man or woman who did not belong to this great movement. Since this fight for a new world was going to be a difficult one--for the bourgeoisie was not going to sit idly by and let us take away their power and wealth--we had to be tough and determined. Nothing would deter us."

"There was no problem for which we did not have an immediate answer. We were the elect. And we lived like the elect. We were always busy recruiting converts. If they resisted us, they were our enemies; if it took them some time to reach our point of view, we treated them patronizingly. We knew everything about everything."

She also points out that there are many deterrents to separation which must inevitably keep many in the Party. She writes--"For the intellectual with a conscience, it is easy to become a 'trusted soldier of the revolution.' Once he is incorporated and a functionary of the quasi-religious brotherhood, he lives in what seemed to be an elevated world. The rules are strict. It takes a long time to be detached enough to see whom you are serving. And then it takes more courage to break than it takes to join. The step to renounce the brotherhood of men that believed they were working for a better life for all, to divorce yourself from the pioneering of mankind, from the fighters for a great cause, is very difficult. To leave the warmth, the safety and friendship that have been given you is a tragedy. You have been imbued with the Communist spirit to such an extent that for a long time you see yourself as a traitor, as do the comrades you have left."

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15. Whittaker CHAMBERS

When his close friend in the Party and the underground, John (Don) Sherman left the underground stating, "I will not work one more hour for those murderers," he "begged me (CHAMBERS) to break from the apparatus with him." But, said CHAMBERS, "he was too early by more than a year." CHAMBERS was not ready to leave the Party and the apparatus.

CHAMBERS explains that he was able to remain in the Soviet underground after its novelty had worn off purely because its "revolutionary purpose alone makes it bearable." It gave him a "sense of participating directly in the revolutionary transformation of our time, for which a Communist exists."

He pointed out further that a person remains in the Party because by training "he will suffer almost any degree of injustice, stupidity and personal outrage from the Party that he serves." He said that to do otherwise "would be to breach discipline," and "a deliberate breach of discipline is an act of blasphemy." He emphasized that "only an intolerable situation can make it possible or even imaginable." CHAMBERS had not yet reached the "intolerable situation," though John Sherman had.

He described those in the Soviet underground with whom he worked as remaining in the movement because they were "people who believed that they were contributing to the future welfare of all mankind, finding in their effort the meaning of history and their own lives."

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V. WHY THEY LEAVE--THE GRADUAL PROCESS OF DEFECTION

A. Introduction

The forces which encourage one to remain in the Party also retard one's defection from the Party, thus making the process gradual. It is equally true that the final defection is, in great part, the result of the accumulation of doubts, disappointments and shocks experienced during the period when defection is gradually maturing.

The case histories studied demonstrate that among those who have been greatly devoted to the movement, defection is not generally an abrupt departure, but a slow, painful, almost hidden process in which even agony may have its place. As described by one who experienced it, it is not a decision that one makes but a decision that grows. Several have testified that they did not know they had ceased to be Communists, so imperceptible and subconscious was the progress of their antipathy. Defection results, in large part, from an accumulation of shocks which may commence to be felt as soon as one has become identified with the movement. The study of the several case histories included herein indicates that the shocks are not individually decisive and the process of defection is gradual for the following reasons:

1. Party training has equipped the mind of the member with "elaborate shock-absorbing buffers" and "elastic defenses."
2. There is an unwillingness to admit self-error in having become identified with the movement.
3. There is a reluctance to be a quitter.
4. There is an inability to see and think clearly and critically.
5. Party members indulge in inner-rationalizations which justify their remaining in the organization a bit longer. There is a willingness to find excuses for every Party stupidity.
6. There is the feeling that one is doing a useful job.
7. There is indecision and vacillation.
8. There is intellectual cowardice.
9. There is self-deception, a clinging to illusions, a tendency to believe what one wishes to believe.

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B. Summary

The process then is gradual. Within the limits of this particular study, the reasons for the final defection fall largely within two categories: (1) anti-Soviet sentiment; and (2) anti-Party sentiment. For purposes of convenience, they are summarized under these two headings.

1. Anti-Soviet Sentiment

- a. The individual Parties are adjuncts of Moscow.
- b. The disparity between prices and income in Russia.
- c. The necessary and monstrous lie.
- d. The absence of human values in Russia.
- e. The Secret Police and the purges, terror, liquidations and unlawful arrests in Russia.
- f. Slave labor.
- g. Bureaucracy.
- h. The absence of justice, freedom, equality and democracy in Russia.
- i. The Hitler-Stalin Pact.
- j. The invasion of Korea.
- k. Russian expansionism.
- l. The reestablishment of classes, privilege and prerogative; the new aristocracy in Russia.
- m. The intemperate praise of Stalin.
- n. The absence of religion in Russia.
- o. The absence of moral values and the employment of opportunism and expediency in Russia.
- p. The political slanting of the news in its entirety in Soviet Russia.
- q. Soviet indifference to physical and mental suffering.
- r. The resemblance of Soviet Communism to Fascism.
- s. The absence of individuality in Russia.
- t. Exploitation in Russia.
- u. The terrorization and vassalization of the mind in Russia.

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2. Anti-Party Sentiment

- a. The zigzagging of the Party line in response to the needs of Moscow.
- b. Party antagonism toward intellectuals.
- c. Absence of democracy in the Party.
- d. The end justifies the means.
- e. The absence of ethics, charity, love, pity.
- f. Hatred as the mainspring of action.
- g. Party interference with private life.
- h. Spying within the Party.
- i. Party discipline and the work of the disciplinary courts.
- j. Rivalry within the Party for leading positions.
- k. Party cynicism.
- l. The conspiratorial atmosphere within the Party.
- m. The tendency of the Party to stifle individual initiative; intellectual degradation.
- n. Deceptive nature of the Party.

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C. Narrative.

1. Arthur KOESTLER

The case history of KOESTLER resembles others in the sense that there are many deterrents in the long process of abandoning a faith and giving up the Party. This is demonstrated by his statement that "At all times and in all creeds only a minority has been capable of courting excommunication and committing emotional hara-kiri in the name of abstract truth."

In his case, there was a rather early germination of the seeds of disaffection, although actual separation from the German CP did not occur for many years. He joined the Party in December 1931, and by 1932 he noted the zigzagging of the Party line as it wavered between the two extreme poles of pro-fascism and anti-fascism. He noted that "the Party line was wavering dizzily, just as it did prior to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact."

He speaks of Moscow interference with the elections in Germany in the spring and summer of 1932, and observes. . . "I still believe that, without the wild jerks from Moscow which kept entangling our nets and tearing them from our hands, we would have had a fair chance to win."

He objected to the Party's interpretation of language. "Generally speaking, words like 'agent of', 'Freedom', etc., mean something quite different in Party usage from what they meant in general usage; and as, furthermore, even their Party meaning changed with each shift of the line."

Being a member of the intelligentsia, he noted. . . "A member of the intelligentsia could never become a real proletarian. We cast off our intellectual baggage like passengers on a ship seized by panic, until it became reduced to the strictly necessary minimum of stock-phrases, dialectical cliches and Marxist quotations. To have shared the doubtful privilege of bourgeois education, to be able to see several aspects of a problem and not only one, became a permanent cause of self-reproach."

He found discussion "prior to decision" permissible "in theory" only; that "all decisions are imposed from above."

He made a trip to Russia to write a book, and explains. . . "What I saw and experienced came as a shock--but a shock with a delayed-action effect, as it were. My Party education had equipped my mind with such elaborate shock-absorbing buffers and elastic defenses that everything seen and heard became automatically transformed to fit the preconceived pattern." Nevertheless, he noted "the Asiatic backwardness of life" and the disparity between prices and income for the masses.

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Concerning the outrages which he found in the Soviet Union, he comments.... "it may all sound monstrous and yet it was so easy to accept while rolling along the single track of faith." This applied even to "the necessary lie, the necessary slander; the necessary intimidation of the masses; the necessary liquidation of oppositional groups and hostile classes; the necessary sacrifice of a whole generation in the interest of the next."

He left the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1933 and remained in the Party until the early spring of 1938. Of the sojourn, he commented... "My faith had been badly shaken, but thanks to the elastic shock-absorbers, I was slow in becoming conscious of the damage. A number of events and inner rationalizations helped me to carry on and delay the final crack-up."

The events to which KOESTLER referred were the rise of Hitler in 1933, the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 (which he thought "inaugurated a new policy, a complete negation of the previous one"), and the Spanish Civil War of 1936. The "inner rationalization" referred to above was a feeling "that the Party could only be changed from inside, not from outside." Of the three events, he commented... "The ignominies of the Djughashvili regime and of the Comintern machine faded into the background; the only thing that mattered was to fight against Nazism and the threatening war."

By throwing himself into this fight, KOESTLER found.... "Work is a potent drug; to make oneself feel that one is doing a useful job anonymously and wholeheartedly is the most effective way of bribing one's conscience." Nevertheless, there is something of a clue in his statement that "though we wore blinkers we were not blind."

Thrown into prison by the Franco forces in Spain during the Civil War, "I made the acquaintance of a different kind of reality, which had altered my outlook and values." He had learned that "man is a reality, mankind an abstraction; that men cannot be treated as units in operations of political arithmetic because they behave like symbols for zero and the infinite; that the end justifies the means only within very narrow limits; that ethics is not a function of social unity, and charity not a petty-bourgeois sentiment." He found that "every single one of these trivial statements was incompatible with the Communist faith which I held."

The gradual character of his transformation from Communism, however, is illustrated by the following... "But when I was liberated I did not know that I had ceased to be a Communist." He went so far as to send a cable to the Party making a reaffirmation of faith by asserting, "I embrace thee, ye millions", and added "I am cured of all belly-aches."

Events of a more personal nature then affected him. His brother-in-law and two close friends were arrested during "the Russian mass-purges," on "grotesque charges, held for years without trial, and delivered to the Gestapo."

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Concerning the arrests in Russia, he commented "At no time and in no country have more revolutionaries been killed and reduced to slavery than in Soviet Russia. To one who himself for seven years found excuses for every stupidity and crime committed under the Marxist banner, the spectacle of these dialectical tight-rope acts of self-deception, performed by men of good will and intelligence, is more disheartening than the barbarities committed by the simple in spirit. Having experienced the almost unlimited possibilities of mental acrobaticism on that tight-rope stretched across one's conscience, I know how much stretching it takes to make that elastic rope snap."

Another incident occurred in the spring of 1938 before "the end came." He was preparing a speech on Spain to be delivered to a group of intellectuals in Paris. A Party representative asked him to insert a passage "denouncing the POUM as agents of Franco; I refused. He shrugged and asked me whether I would care to show him the text of my speech and to discuss it informally. I refused." In this speech, KOESTLER did not criticize the Party but injected certain platitudes which are "to Communists a declaration of war." The platitudes included the following: (1) no person or party can claim the privilege of infallibility; (2) to appease the enemy is as foolish as to persecute the friend who pursues your own aim by a different road, and (3) a harmful truth is better than a useful lie. "That settled it."

A few days later he wrote his letter of resignation to the Party in which "I stated my opposition to the system, to the cancerous growth of the bureaucracy, the suppression of civil liberties."

Although "the tight-rope had snapped" KOESTLER nevertheless "remained in that state of suspended animation until the day when the swastika was hoisted on Moscow Airport in honor of Ribbentrop's arrival and the Red Army band broke into the Horst Wessel Lied. That was the end."

Significantly he comments, "I have only mentioned this epilogue to my Party days, my clinging to the last shred of the torn illusion, because it was typical of that intellectual cowardice which still prevails on the Left. The addiction to the Soviet myth is as tenacious and difficult to cure as any other addiction."

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2. Bob DARKE

In DARKE, as with KOESTLER, the seeds of defection commenced to develop and grow at an early date after joining the Party, although it is not possible to fix the date. DARKE has said. . . "The way I was under obligation to live, the way a true Communist is expected to live within the four walls of his home, never appealed to me."

The process, at any rate, was gradual and centered initially on the effects of Party membership upon his private life. DARKE comments. . . "As far as the Party was concerned, my private life was about as personal and as private as the forecourt of Nisbet House. If Ann (his wife) bought new curtains, I knew they would be carefully studied when next a branch official called. If the rooms were repainted, I knew that the amount of money I had spent would be carefully calculated and I would be expected to make a more handsome donation to the British Soviet Friendship Society the next time the hat went round. I would face censure for permitting myself bourgeois luxuries."

He had other objections along this line, "Not only was my wardrobe under constant surveillance but my bookshelves too." He was "reprimanded for not hanging pictures of Marxist heroes on my walls." Efforts were made, behind his back, to recruit his wife and father; he has commented. . . "I was shaken by this." "The Party was equally indifferent to whatever economic struggle I might have been facing in my personal life." He also resented "the Party's indifference toward the sacrifices of its members." He found that his home had been turned into a Party office, and that the Party acted "as a buffer between father and children." He was told that a Party member "holds his children in sacred trust for Socialism."

With respect to his private life, DARKE noted. . . "If Ann and I went to the local cinema, a Party member was sure to see me and report me to the branch. If I took a holiday, the Party would have been worried because I was wasting the Party's time on selfish pleasures." And he comments. . . "I was not unique. Every Party member is under the same surveillance, and every Party member becomes, as I became, a remote-controlled robot."

"The Party is always smelling out the evil, always poking, prying, probing into the Party member's private life, directing it where possible, destroying it where necessary."

This also included the wives of members. DARKE notes that the Party's attitude was. . . "Recruit her into the Party. If she won't join, leave her." His wife was not a Party member and this was a "serious disadvantage." That his wife's non-membership was a factor in his voluntary disaffection is shown by the following. . . "There are many Communists who suffer their greatest defeats at their own hearthsides, and have the same battle of loyalties that I experienced."

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DARKE's girls "came home often enough from school and work in tears because of the jeering they had received on my behalf. "Ann grew quickly tired of the fraction meetings that were held in my house almost every night. She and my daughters grew impatient with being moved into the kitchen every time the doorbell rang. "

On one occasion his wife said to him bitterly. . . "Other men belong to political parties, but they're not like you. They make something out of their wives and families. Look at you; you are getting older every day and you're never at home with us, you never go out with us. You'll regret it some day. All you think of is the Party, nothing else counts with you, Bob; not your family, not your home, not me. "

Concerning such explosions in the home, DARKE pointed out that the Party "is astute enough to realize that its greatest weakness lies not in the power of counter-propaganda, but in the spirit and conscience of the Party member himself. It knows that he can be seduced more easily by his wife's tears than by capitalist temptation. "

DARKE made other discoveries about the Party. In it he found "no laughter, no mutual good feeling, no real tolerant comradeship. Each man is watching for another's weakness. It is on the weakness of others that the Party comrade rises. " He observed "leading members spying on each other, each watching for a false move. " He said that when the Party called for "increased vigilance" it meant "increased spying and informing. "

He noted that the "wave of witch-hunting and disciplinary courts presented a great opportunity to Party members who were fighting each other for office inside the Party and the unions. " When one of the members was placed on probation "the men who coveted his job sharpened their knives. "

He termed Russian expansionism in the postwar period as "the Communist rape of Eastern Europe. "

These sentiments culminated in ill health and an indisposition toward the Party and its work. The process of the gradual alienation of his Party affection was underway. At a Party meeting he listened to a French comrade berate the British Party for a variety of failures. The thoughts which that speech inspired in DARKE were "deeper rooted than I had suspected. What I had done for the Party, what I was doing, began to leave a sour taste in my mouth. But I was being carried forward by the impetus of the Party's work and I did not know that subconsciously I was looking for a moment when I could leap off the express. "

He found himself "refusing Party duties time and time again. It occurred to me in a confused sort of way that there was some subconscious purpose behind my reluctance; it was not merely forgetfulness or weariness. "

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When the Red invasion of South Korea occurred, the British Party urged... "Into the battle, comrades!" DARKE remarks... "But here was one comrade who could go into battle no more. His feet were willing, his mind faltered. I went through the movements of the Party line faltering. I mouthed the words 'American intervention' on several platforms. And then I knew I was finished."

Next, his speeches before the Borough Council of which he was a Communist representative "had been half-hearted, on one or two occasions I had spoken against the Party line. I had not carried out my duties in the Peace Campaign. Something was wrong with Bob DARKE."

"Then I burnt the last boat. The editor of the local paper challenged me in an editorial to declare which side I would be on in the event of a war between Britain and Russia. My reply did not follow the set pattern. I said, in all honesty, that if Russia were responsible for the war then I would fight for my own country, Britain." DARKE was then visited by a representative of the Party and was ordered to appear before a special meeting and to give a full report of his recent activities. Of this visit, DARKE comments... "He went, and with him went my allegiance to the Communist Party." His resignation followed.

That defection is due not to one reason but to many is illustrated by DARKE's reply when asked why he left the Party... "Korea. Yes, Korea. But that was only the last straw." In several voluntary defections the same language, "the last straw" has been used.

DARKE explains... "But the fact is that leaving the Communist Party is not a sudden act of impulse, at least not for a man who has been a member as long as I had. Ironically you might define in terms of Marxist dialectic, the theory of the slow, hidden change culminating in an explosive break with the past, the revolutionary movement. At what point along those eighteen years did I first begin to doubt? I don't know. I wasn't always in agreement with the Party's tactics, there were times when I didn't feel too highly of myself, but I supported the strategy. This book isn't an attempt to tell you that I knew all the time that it was wrong. I didn't. It has taken me eighteen years to realize that I have been carrying the wrong banner in the right fight."

"The question: 'Why do people join the Party?' is perhaps as impossible to answer in general terms as another question: 'Why do people leave the Party?' In my own case I think the same answer can be given to each question. I joined the Party because I could no longer tolerate a system which I believed to be bad. Party propaganda told me that that system was doomed anyway and my efforts would hasten its end. I wanted to work for the improvement of society, for freedom, justice, progress, and the full expression of Man's talent and ability. I still want to work for these things, but I know that I cannot do so inside the Party, that Communism will not bring them."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~3. Douglas HYDE

The gradualism and the thought processes involved in the defection of HYDE make his one of the most interesting of the case-histories of self-defection. As HYDE himself summarized his reasons for defection. . . "I lost my communism because I had been shown something better."

HYDE was the News Editor for the London Daily Worker, organ of the British CP. In that capacity, it was necessary for him to read a Catholic paper, the "Weekly Review," for purposes of criticism. This weekly contained the writings of G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. They were distributionists, and while Marx reasoned that the unequal distribution of private property gives rise to social injustice, and should therefore be abolished, Chesterton and Belloc felt that there should be no abolition of private property, but rather an equitable distribution of such property. HYDE fell in with the latter view, and commented. . . "I was opening my whole mind receptively at last to anti-Marxist ideas." "My reading of Chesterton, Belloc and the Weekly Review had convinced me that they were right on fundamentals and we had been wrong."

He rationalized his reading of such material on the need for "relaxation," but "the more I read it, the more I found in it to interest me." He reasoned that in reading the little Distributionist paper. . . "I was indulging in a little more-or-less harmless vice, no more. There was no real betrayal, just a little nostalgia, a little conscious escapism, after a long period of overwork and whilst still living under considerable strain. And why the hell, I asked myself, shouldn't I try to escape for a few minutes a week? It did me no harm. Did me good, in fact. I worked all the harder for the Cause as a consequence. I grew resentful with myself for feeling guilty about it all."

There were other forces at work. He commenced to develop an interest in "the land" as well as in a knowledge of the Middle Ages. This meant, of course, that the time spent on such matters would not be available for Party use. He also longed for a "chance to think--the chance to think for the sake of thinking. Yes, that was it. Not applying someone else's thoughts to some line of action. Just thinking one's own thoughts. I longed to think independently, and yet how far away it all seemed. It would mean an abandonment of the class struggle, a betrayal of all I had lived for."

"There were times when I found myself watching events curiously as though I were little more than a spectator. I was a trained Marxist and spoke and thought as a Marxist without any conscious act of will. But there was not the same colossal zeal for everything the Party said and did. It troubled me, I fretted inwardly and told myself I was tired and perhaps a little ill. I no longer wanted to read my Marxist classics."

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"I knew that the fire had gone from my communist faith, that it was no longer the driving force in my life that it had been. It was not so much that I thought that Communism was entirely wrong. It was rather that it was no longer a spur to action, and this had come about as a result of thinking along lines which were inherently contrary to those of Marxism, even though I could not contemplate accepting any other philosophy."

"I still resented attacks on the Party and still continued to write bitterly against fascists. And because subconsciously I resented the way in which Catholic thought had destroyed my peace of mind, I attacked Catholicism and the Church more viciously than I had ever done."

"In time I came to look for those parts in the Party's policy which I could still support with conviction and to concentrate upon those. Even though I was losing my health because of accumulating secret doubts and misgivings, I still could not think of myself as anything but a communist."

"At any moment, after having quite serious doubts about some aspect of Soviet or Party policy, I might still react violently in defence of the Party, especially if I heard it attacked by anyone outside its ranks."

But HYDE was finding. . . . "The old zest for life, the desire to fight on to the revolution, the constantly-maintained hope of opportunity-bearing crises being just around the corner, the deep longing to be alive when the pattern of the new Soviet Britain was being laid down, had disappeared."

For health reasons his doctor ordered him to get outside as much as possible. He took a small garden, and commented. . . "The healing of the soil. That was what I was looking for. Perhaps that could fill the gaps left in my life by increasing doubts. Give me the chance one day to just potter about on the soil, I told myself, and I shall find peace and satisfaction."

Then HYDE commenced to be troubled with "increasing cynicism." "I wise-cracked about everything which my colleagues held to be most sacred--the Soviet leaders, our own most revered British Party members, the Party line."

But when called upon to tutor Party groups, HYDE accepted. "I told myself that this might bring me back to my old unquestioning faith, restore the old fire, the passing of which I regretted and wanted to resist. I took the classes but found that I was making my points without conviction, arguing a case which, deep down, I did not really feel. I reacted by defying my doctor's orders and taking on some public speaking, defending my communism aggressively, attacking the enemies of communism with extravagance. But still the old fire would not come and I went back to my books on the land. . . angry at my defeat."

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When wintertime brought greater opportunities for reading, he found that "my Marxist text-books remained on their shelves, except when required for appropriate quotations for use in my work." But he "had time for thought, to review the road I had travelled. I was surprised at how far I had gone, how much of my old faith I had lost. I saw that my feelings about the land, which I had had during the summer months, much as they meant to me and would always mean to me, did not fill the gap left by the withering away of my communism--for when I was completely frank with myself I now knew that that was what was happening."

"For years I had had something to live for, something to believe in. But where did I go from here? The 'Weekly Review' had begun a process which had destroyed a good deal, but something like a vacuum was being left as my old beliefs shrank and shrank. I was becoming increasingly aware of the appeal of an almost completely opposite philosophy but it hardly seemed possible that it could ever be mine."

HYDE continued to read the "Weekly Review," to which he added the "Catholic Herald"; he took copies home at night "and left them about, half hoping that Carol (his wife) might also be reading them. I dared not discuss with her what was happening to my communist faith." He also purchased everything he could find written by Chesterton and Belloc, and went on to other Catholic authors as well. He studied the Middle Ages which he now found to be "the ages with a Faith."

At Christmastime, HYDE tried to recreate the spirit of Christmas for... "Even in the days of my most complete acceptance of communism I had clung to Christmas, arguing that it was a grand old pagan feast, anyway." He tried hard to throw himself into the spirit of the season. "I tipped carol-singers with abandonment in order to ensure return visits to my door, sang carols, and the older the better--from morning till night. I was trying to capture what lay behind them, what had given them meaning and significance. But I realized sadly that the Babe was not a living person for me. The inner knowledge that I had lost most of my communism, had grasped at Catholicism and found my hands empty, was shattering."

Finally his wife, Carol, asserted... "I'm sick of old Molotov saying 'No, No,' the whole of the time." She followed this with "condemnation of all that had been taking place in Eastern Europe since the end of the war and a prediction that before we knew where we were we should find that Russia had succeeded in giving us a third world war." Thereupon she condemned the British Communist leaders, stating that she was fed up with the whole lot of them."

HYDE "now found the application of our theories and tactics clashing with all I felt to be right." "I was beginning to say some things were right and some were wrong. I was judging communist behavior on the basis of ethics and not expediency--a thoroughly un-Marxist thing to do." He became "appalled at the persecution of

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non-communist leaders in those lands where the Party ruled." "I was profoundly disturbed by the execution of the Party's opponents in Eastern Europe and by the melancholy procession of those who were driven from their homelands." "The trouble was that I was beginning to think in terms of individual human beings and their fate, and not just of impersonal masses."

He reached the point where he could no longer laugh at Party jokes, and made himself conspicuous in this respect. The "cynicism" of Party members "began to revolt me." "It was not sufficient now to tell myself that the end justifies the means. Once a Marxist begins to differentiate between right and wrong, just and unjust, good and bad, to think in terms of spiritual values, the worst has happened so far as his Marxism is concerned." "Now I was filled with an uneasiness which at times amounted to revulsion."

"Every shock, every disappointment, every occasion on which I found myself troubled by what the Party was doing at home and abroad made me turn the more eagerly to my Catholic reading and set me thinking the more furiously about it." But HYDE comments... "I had lost a faith and found a vacuum. I had my roots nowhere. Nothing remained. It had taken me five years to travel from the Kremlin to the Vatican."

At the Daily Worker he was "finding the atmosphere there too suffocating to endure." He noted... "I knew well enough that for a Marxist to have any doubts at all is to ensure the ultimate death of his Marxism." After the accumulation of doubts over a period of years, he wrote... "Czechoslovakia seems to me to be the last straw."

HYDE points out specifically that "the Catholic influence came first... and that my Communism went later, and then only after years of resistance." Of the end, he said... "When it came to actually making the break, I found it to be the hardest thing I had ever done."

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4. Freda UTLEY

In Freda UTLEY sentiments of disaffection commenced to develop early. She joined the British CP in September 1927, but in speaking of her Party experience as early as 1928, she wrote... "Even in those days I had some deviations which is the Communist expression for 'heresy'". Nevertheless, it took many years, and personal tragedy and experience, to break her Communist faith.

The gradual character of her transformation away from Communism is shown by the following... "You believe what you wish to believe, until experience bangs your head against the wall and awakens you from dreams founded on hope, a misreading of history, and ignorance both of human psychology and science." The fact that her complete disillusionment did not come at once is also evidenced by... "Only later was it to be borne in on me how mild had been the tyranny of the Tsars compared to that of Stalin."

Soon after joining the Party she married a Russian national and moved to Tokyo where her husband was to serve the Soviet government. Of this she comments... "The intrigues, the calumnies, and the factional struggles which went on in our small Russian colony of employees in Tokyo should have taught us what to expect in the USSR. But we ascribed these jealousies in the Russian colony to the 'intellectuals'. We believed that in Russia the proletarians ensured a cleaner atmosphere."

From Tokyo she returned to England via Moscow, and relates... "Back in England I threw myself into the work of the British Communist Party, and tried to bury in my subconscious the growing suspicions concerning Soviet socialist life which had been engendered by my year in Tokyo, and by the fortnight I had spent in Moscow on my way home at the end of 1929."

Despite her doubts and suspicions, she writes... "At this stage of my Communist experience I did not have enough sense to see that nothing good would come out of Soviet Russia and that the foreign Communist Parties were already corrupted and impotent." After further experience, she declares... "Although I was aware in my subconscious that our dream was already lost, I clung to my illusions. I would not as yet admit even to myself that Russia had already gone too far along the road to bureaucratic tyranny for there to be any hope of turning back to the ideals of the October Revolution."

Her gradual disaffection received impetus when she returned to the Soviet Union to live. "Life in Russia... consisted in learning the painful lesson that there was far more bad than good, and that the good was disappearing so rapidly that there was soon nothing but bad." She found the USSR to be "a country of starved peasants and under-nourished workers, cowed and whipped by fierce punishments to toil endlessly for a state which could not provide them even with enough to eat."

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She found much to comment on in Russia. "I soon realized that there is social discrimination in Russia. The Soviet Social Register is written on the ration cards of the favored Communist bureaucracy, the new Russian nobility. I learned of the existence of exclusive shops catering to privileged high Party officials." And as between the old Czarist regime and that of the Soviets, "now there was a new aristocracy. That seemed to be the only difference."

"There was, of course, a convenient theory to justify the terrible social and material gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The ruled were held to be 'indispensable', as the 'builders of socialism'. The wretches dying of starvation and the ill-fed workers and peasants were just cannon fodder in the battle of socialism. If there were not enough food to go around, the officers of the socialist army must be well fed even if everyone else went short. Thus have aristocracies in all historical periods justified their privileges. The Soviet aristocracy is no exception."

"The glaring contradictions between theory and practice, between what was supposed to be and what was, and the constant effort to say and look the opposite of what one thought, were by no means the least strain in Soviet life." UTLEY found... "A little freedom of expression, honesty of thought and speech, are as necessary as air. Without them one would suffocate in the foul Moscow atmosphere." "Russia taught me that even if one does not believe in God one must have a moral code, must accept certain social values as absolutes, and allow some freedom to the individual conscience."

Of Lenin she said... "In his last hours he had no God to whom to cry, 'Why hast thou forsaken me?'"

She deplored the fate of the masses which had become tools of the Soviets. "The Comintern, in fact, was not concerned with the livelihood of foreign workers. The sole objective of the Communist International was the safety of Soviet Russia and it recked nothing of the interests or sufferings of the workers." "Slave labor had become an essential factor in the economy of Russia." "Equality of opportunity in the Soviet Union is a myth." And, finally, she comments... "Perhaps the breaking of the human spirit into submissive, thoughtless robots is the most terrible feature of Stalin's Russia."

UTLEY's disaffection grew. She was offended by "the purge which was to kill off so many of the old intellectuals." She was repelled by what she called "the semi-mystical, semi-religious and altogether nauseating outpourings in the Soviet press in praise of Stalin." She abhorred the "terror" which "now began to oppress my spirits." She feared to write to her husband because "his mail probably was opened and read by an OGPU agent."

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Finally with the imprisonment of her husband by Soviet authorities she was compelled to leave Russia. She wrote of this.... "Nine years before, almost to a day, I had stood in the Red Square for the first time, my heart full of enthusiasm and faith. Now I was flying away to the West leaving the dearest person (her husband) in my life inside the prison house which the Soviet Union had become."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~5. Charlotte HALDANE

Mrs. HALDANE joined the British CP in 1937. She has said... "From 1937-41, I experienced a violent bout of Communist religious mania. This was cured when, in the latter year, I went to the Soviet Union as a war correspondent for a national newspaper." Of this cure, she comments... "My naivete, on arrival in Moscow seems almost incredible. It is simply to be explained, of course, for I was an amateur, a religious convert and a pilgrim, and at that period so strongly conditioned by my emotions regarding the Soviet Union that the scales were only gradually to be lifted from my eyes."

She had visited the Soviet Union in 1928, and even at this early date discloses an interesting study in contrasts between the proletarian and bourgeois worlds. But although the Soviet Union was found wanting in 1928, it did not deter her from joining the Party in 1937. It was, however, the accumulation of the negative factors which she found in Russia and herself, and which she commenced to recognize in 1928, which eventually resulted in her voluntary defection.

"I had no regrets at leaving the Soviet Union in 1928, but, on the contrary, a feeling of relief." Her "experience" in receiving an exit visa "had not been pleasant." She felt other differences in the Soviet Union. "The suggestion of police surveillance of other than Russian nationals made an unpleasant impression. I was very conscious of the difference in atmosphere, as soon as I set foot aboard the little German steamer that brought us to Stettin. It was also a physical relief to encounter again clean beds and lavatories, the amenities of one's own Western 'bourgeois' world, which are always taken for granted until they are suddenly withdrawn and so become consciously symbolic of a different and superior culture."

After joining the Party, her Communist enthusiasm remained intact until her second trip to the Soviet Union in 1941. During the early part of this trip her purposes as a war correspondent were thwarted by the Russians, but she was not disturbed ideologically at this point because of what she called... "my unshakable enthusiasm and utterly uncritical attitude."

But experience followed experience in Russia. At first she felt "pity and sorrow for these utterly disconsolate unfortunates. But it was followed by a fierce sense of guilt and shame." Her experiences "seemed to mock my facile and naive optimism, my wishful dreaming, and to accuse me of bearing false witness to my own people." Observing the preferred treatment which she, as a foreigner, received over the Russian people, she said... "I felt ashamed of being one."

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She found that the Russian people had never been advised of the air raids over London. She discovered that ... "News in Russia is inseparable from propaganda; it is angled one hundred percent from the political point of view." She observed "privilege", "bureaucrats" and "a new aristocracy." "A white-collar caste was being raised." She noted an "attitude of expediency toward religion", and "the flagrant breach of the Stalin Constitution in the interests of opportunist policy." Of the police, she felt ... "Whether it calls itself the OGPU, the NKVD, or, as today, the MVD, it is still, in substance and in form, the lineal descendant of its Czarist predecessor." She found in the "uniformed or plain-clothes officers and men of the NKVD" the "real rulers of the country."

Mrs. HALDANE speaks of "the tremendous discrepancy between what I wanted to find and what I actually did find in the Soviet Union." She was offended by "the callous indifference to physical and mental suffering one finds in both China and Russia." This she found "profoundly shocking."

"The lack of respect for human life, the indifference to human suffering, I encountered in Kuibyshev, for example, would have been taken for granted by any visitor entering the Soviet Union from the East. The abundance of food in that town, for inhabitants and foreigners, amongst which the refugees were starving to death, was nothing new to me. The intensity of my emotional reaction to the Kuibyshev situation was chiefly due, I later realized, to the fact that I witnessed this in the 'glorious' Soviet Union, 'home of every toiler', as the song has it."

In Kuibyshev, she had witnessed the funeral of an infant that had died of starvation while others had been well fed. This caused a "reawakening of my mind and reactionary faculties from a deep, drugged sleep." "Standing beside that dead baby, I swore a silent oath that never again would I get on any platform, anywhere at any time, to use my oratorical and persuasive gifts to convince an audience of working class men, women and children, that the Soviet Union was the hope of the toilers of the world."

"When, in Kuibyshev, I had made my vow by the body of the dead baby, I was filled with ambivalent emotions. I knew that for me this was the end, that on my return to London I would sever my connections with the Communist Party. That decision was irrevocable."

"Now suddenly, I woke up, or rather, my dope-dream had turned into a nightmare, and then I woke up, shattered, exhausted as one is after a nightmare, but for the first time able to see, hear, observe, and think as a rational human being." "I returned to England filled with hatred and contempt for those Party leaders whom formerly I had respected and befriended as trusted comrades."

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Her gradual disaffection was complete. She had found Russian communism to be "the theory and practice of this pseudo-religion." She noted ... "But the Communist faith recognizes no absolute moral values. Its policy is entirely one of opportunism. Its decisions rest on political expediency, and its moral standards change according to the Party line at any given moment." To her, the Soviet system had become "a man-made evil system of unparalleled spiritual arrogance." She noted that scientists, like others, were no longer "immune from heresy-hunting and persecution by charlatans, rivals, and Party Inquisitors."

Her own role as a Communist horrified her. She found the professional Communist to be "imbued with self-love, self-assertiveness, a conviction of his personal superiority to his fellow-men and fellow-workers, conceit and vanity above the average." She rebelled against what she had submitted to and what she had done as a Party member. "I have been compelled to subordinate my judgement, on important or trivial matters, to that of my political superiors. I had to adjust even my most private personal relationships to their discipline. I had severed all my previous non-political contacts and friendships. Most of my non-political friends had dropped me. I had become an intolerable bore. I had lied, cheated, acted under false pretences, obeyed and carried out orders from on high -- denied all my inner ethical tenets and spiritual codes for the good of the cause. I had not even had pleasure from it, enjoyed doing it. I found it distasteful in the extreme and time and again offensive to my natural bent and good sense."

The extent to which the scales were lifted from her eyes is found in the following. "There never has been, in the Soviet Union, and never will be, under its present political regime, a possibility of friendship with other nations and people with different political systems, however often Stalin may have stated that the two systems could function harmoniously side by side. To expect otherwise would be to reveal ignorance of the basic tenets of Stalinism."

And ... "The real war, the permanent struggle, from a Marxist angle, was and is the class-war, the conflict between ideologies, and antagonistic world-power systems that can never be reconciled. Only by the bolshevisation of the whole world would it be possible to lift the barrier between the Soviet peoples and the rest, and then, only on the basis that the nations that came within the Soviet orbit were subjected to more or less direct political control from the Kremlin."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~6. Elizabeth BENTLEY

With the death of Jacob Golos, the man with whom she lived and her superior in the Soviet apparatus, a contest ensued concerning the turning over of her American contacts in the apparatus to the Soviet representatives for future handling. She and Earl Browder had mutually resisted the insistent demands of the Soviet superiors until Browder finally turned Nathan Gregory Silvermaster over to them. When BENTLEY remonstrated, Browder retorted... "Don't be naive. You know that when the cards are down, I have to take my orders from them." And of Silvermaster, Browder asserted... "He's expendable."

BENTLEY commenced to regard Browder not as "the great idealist," but as "only a low conniving politician who was out for himself." "Revulsion swept over me. So this was Earl Browder--not the glorious leader of our American Party but a cheap, tawdry figure. I wished that all the American comrades could see him for what he really was." "With sickening finality I felt the facts click into place." "The leadership of our American Party was not good." "Well, I for one wasn't going to stay in the American Party any longer, knowing what I did about its leadership. I would stop paying my dues and get out."

The extent to which she "was gradually emerging from the grip of the Communist ideology" is shown in her reaction to Soviet approaches. Her opposition to the demands of the Soviet apparatus to turn over the American comrades became known, and arrangements were made for her to meet Al Gromov of the Soviet Embassy. He tried to manage her by asserting that she had been awarded the Order of the Red Star. Of this Order, he said... "We are the ones who really rule the country." He told her that if she would pay a visit to the Soviet Union "you will be wined and dined and treated like a princess. We know how to reward our people for what they have done."

Then she comments... "A slow rage crept into me; I knew then what I was dealing with. We have all been fooled, I said to myself; we thought we were fighting to build a better world, and instead we are just pawns in another game of power politics, run by men who are playing for keeps and don't care how they get where they're going." "There wasn't any hope for us American Communists." "Not only was the international movement completely rotten but even if we were able to kick the cheap politicians like Earl Browder out of the American Party, we would not have achieved anything. After all, just what was our Party? Not an autonomous movement that had as its aim the bringing of Communism to the United States, but only a poor, puny little adjunct of Moscow. Earl hadn't been lying when he said that he had to take orders from the Russians."

When BENTLEY questioned Gromov concerning Juliet Stuart Poyntz (the well-known American woman Soviet underground leader who had fallen into disfavor with the Soviets), he said... "She's six feet under,"

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and he continued, "That's what happens to all traitors." Gromov also aroused BENTLEY by his remarks concerning the recruitment of personnel for the Soviet apparatus. He said... "We can always buy people--and we do when necessary--but it is better to have people with the right ideology. That's the function of the American Communist Party; it's the reservoir from which we draw most of our agents."

She comments on this remark... "This is the end of everything, I said to myself hopelessly, and felt a frightful sense of impotence take hold of me. I and all my good American comrades are caught in an ugly intrigue and there's no way out."

Yet pondering over the American democratic system, she reasoned... "Undoubtedly it was not perfect and certainly it was ineffectual but it was all there was. I brought myself up short; if I had found something decent that was worth fighting for--and it seemed that I had--then, regardless of the odds against its ultimate victory, I belonged in there fighting. I could no longer slide out of the mess I was in and stand by watching; I must pitch in and help. I had seen at first hand how efficiently organized the Soviet machine was, how successfully it had been able to penetrate into even the highest places in the United States government. Somehow it must be stopped, and I was in a position to contribute my little bit."

"Somehow I seemed unable to find the strength to take any action. As the weeks rolled by and I wrestled with my conscience, I vacillated back and forth; one day I would decide that under no circumstances could I do it. Night after night I would walk the streets, unable to sleep; when I would finally doze off in the early hours of the morning, I would awaken an hour or two later, dripping with sweat and in the grip of a dreadful nightmare. Always it was the same one and always, no matter how thoroughly I waked myself out of it, I went back to it again."

"As I descended the hill again, my problem would come back to haunt me in full force. My faith in my old Communist ideals was gone now; even the embers were growing cold. And yet, I thought wistfully, I shall never feel like that again--never again will I be able to think and feel and live with such intensity and passion. Part of me has been left behind in those ten years; I shall never again be a whole person."

"I was passing the Congregational Church; almost without knowing what I was doing, I opened the door and walked in. It was quiet and peaceful inside; I sat down in a back pew, wondering just why I had come in. Then suddenly, without any volition on my part, I found myself trying to pray--calling out for help to Someone whom all these years I had denied. Oh God, I cried desperately: help me to find the strength!"

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7. Stuart BROWNE

BROWNE is another who felt some seeds of defection shortly after he joined the Party, but it took him two years to make the break. During this period he experienced enough of the methods and life of Communists to realize that the Party was not compatible with what he was seeking.

In detailing his dissatisfactions with the Party, BROWNE includes certain personal affects the Party caused. He explains that until he joined the Party, "each year I saved out enough money for a vacation, but after I had been in the Party for a year I was forced to give up the usual two weeks' auto trip with my wife and child."

"The fact that membership in the Party cost me nearly four hundred dollars a year was not an insuperable obstacle, but the psychological reaction was the source of endless worry. I began to save in all the places where I knew I should not save. I discontinued membership in two historical associations, I stopped subscriptions to three different magazines, I stopped buying books in my field."

"This was a minor worry compared to others that came to disturb my waking hours and haunt my tortured sleep. I didn't like the atmosphere of the Party. There are some people who thrive in a conspiratorial atmosphere. To them the most innocent remark suggests endless dark and sinister meanings. Every unit meeting was permeated with a conspiratorial undertone. There was an air of profound secrecy surrounding our movements."

BROWNE complains that... "After I got well into the routine of Party work I was fortunate if I had two nights a week free to devote to my family and ordinary social engagements."

Party discipline bothered him. "The Party leaders talk about democracy, but the only democracy they practice is that defined within the limits of Comrade Stalin's dictates. No evangelist ever pointed with greater pride to a Bible text than do the Party leaders to the text of Marx as amended by Lenin, defiled by Trotsky, and practiced by Stalin. To deny this, or even to speak lightly of it, is heresy."

BROWNE attended a Communist meeting where it was explained that the Party wished to defeat Landon when he was running for the Presidency. The Party favored the election of Mr. Roosevelt, but cautioned its members to vote for Earl Browder. One member present said that he felt so strongly about the defeat of Mr. Landon that he was going to vote for Mr. Roosevelt, and felt that if the Party wanted Mr. Roosevelt elected they should say so and stop beating about the bush. BROWNE comments... "A hushed silence fell over the group. The officials looked so serious that for a moment I felt as though we were in Moscow and not in the United States. I should not have been surprised had I heard this man labeled as an enemy of the working class, a wrecker of true

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socialism, a spy and a traitor, a vermin whose doom would be 'execution before the firing squad.' At last the D. O. (District Organizer) spoke. 'Turn over your book to your Unit Organizer, and from now on you are no longer a member of the Party.' I wiped my brow and went over to the window for a breath of fresh air. The sun was shining on a familiar American city. At that moment I admitted to myself for the first time that I wished I were out of the Party."

"I could not help wondering why I had stayed in the Party for two and a half years. The objections did not dawn upon me suddenly. I had felt them more or less clearly after the first few weeks in the Party. I believe that one reason I remained a member after I had come to hate Party activity was that I was ashamed to admit defeat; I did not want to be a quitter. For a long time I tried to make myself believe that the Party could organize an effective protest against the worst aspects of labor exploitation. It was not until I had actually seen the Party at work in many different situations that I came to believe that its interest in revolution often led the unions into taking a stand that was so unreasonable as to invite disaster. These objections developed slowly. Day by day there were certain compensations to which a Party man clings. I believed that my work was helping the cause of labor, that I was closer to the living problems of history in the making. I also felt that I was doing something unselfishly to help remedy the evils in my own profession. The idea of all workers united in a common cause appealed to me. When I realized that my activities were furthering a dictatorship with the name of democracy used as bait for the unwary, the one hope that had supported me over many specific disappointments was lost."

In leaving the Party, BROWNE gave to his Unit Organizer the following reasons. . . "In the first place I believe that I am not temperamentally fitted for the Party. The rigorous routine, the stifling of individual initiative, the necessity for secrecy, the inevitable deception which forces one to live in two worlds, these disturb my peace of mind. It may be my fault, but I have lost contact with my old friends outside the Party, and those in the Party have no time for friendship. Before I entered the Party no one could predict the subjects that might come up for discussion when a group of us met. Now every discussion follows a pattern that is monotonous--perhaps worse than monotonous. I feel that my intellectual life, poor as it may have been, is stifled. I have no time to read the books and magazines that are free and unfettered that give joy and adventure to the art of reading. My intellectual life has become dull. My teaching, which used to be interesting, has not flourished under the dictates of the Party line. Instead, it has become stereotyped. I have come to hate my class. The solemnity with which the Party treats every problem weighs upon my spirit. I cannot believe that economic conditions in our country warrant an attitude which implies that the revolution is imminent. Every unit meeting is as serious in tone as though it were being held in a cellar near University City, Madrid. The interference with my personal liberty is no longer endurable to me. I'll give you an example. I am simple enough to take joy in the feeling that when I enter a voting booth in the United States

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no one, in spirit or in fact, goes with me. I may vote wrong, and I may have to pay for my mistake, but I vote as a free man. As a Communist I voted according to the line laid down for me and all Communists by the Seventh World Congress in Moscow. These are a few of the reasons why I must withdraw, and of course, my wife is also leaving the Party."

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8. Louis BUDENZ

The gradual maturing of his final defection consumed a period of years, and BUDENZ, like others, experienced doubts for some time prior to his final break. During this time, he was sustained in his Party allegiance by his "conviction" that the future was well mapped out, "and this served as an anchor in every stage of doubt about the Marxist theory or tactics." He did not leave the Party until 1945.

As early as 1941 he made a promise to himself to return to the Catholic Church; that promise was repeated in 1943. He says... "It was in October 1943, that I finally made up my mind to return to the Catholic Church, no matter what the cost. If that entailed a break with the Communist organization, then I would. Even at this hour of my spiritual advance, my outlook was tempered by the hope (now dimming rapidly) that Communism and Catholicism could be brought together. And still two more years of agonizing over that hope were still to follow before the promise which I had made to myself in 1941 and repeated in 1943 was fulfilled. Indeed, many of them (friends) have asked me or Margaret (Mrs. Budenz) why I lingered so long in the camp of Communism. Unfortunately, it is a question more readily asked than answered."

In the face of his doubts about the Party and his determination to return to the Catholic Church, he nevertheless postponed the final break. "Since I had clouded my vision with materialism, was it any wonder that I should grasp and grope for shadows, straining to see the right way and yet not perceiving it?"

While he lingered in the Party, BUDENZ "examined the Communist position and Communist methods of treachery and deceit fully and critically." In this process, he noted... "My dissatisfaction with what was afoot in the Communist camp was heightened by the instructions we were getting from the representative of the 'dissolved' Comintern." Yet he also concluded... "There was still enough of the Communist in me to wish for the extension of Communism". But the disintegration of his views continued. "My strong belief in the greater democracy of the Soviet Union after the destruction of Hitlerism was crumbling."

He was instructed, as Editor of the Daily Workers, to disregard all news stories on treason by the small Republics in the USSR. "This grave reflection on any 'democracy' in the Soviet Russia was not lost on me." "It was a disturbing recognition of a reality that I had long wanted to evade." He began to feel... "The resemblance between Hitlerism and the Soviet regime was too close for comfort or for confidence in the latter's service to the people."

Commenting on Hitlerism and Soviet totalitarianism, he found... "both were founded on hate," and "no such materialistic doctrine could ever save the world." "Instead, it was leading the world into another conflict before World War II was even completed. There must be a return to the belief in human brotherhood. The dignity of man could be safeguarded only through a full understanding of his relation to Divinity."

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He termed the American Communist Party "a mental concentration camp." He said that "the first requisite for a Communist to understand is that he is serving Soviet Russia and no other nation or interest. Never will he be permitted to express one word of reservation or criticism of the Soviet Government, its leaders, or their decisions. Whatever they say or do is always 100% right, and America can be right only by being in complete agreement with the Soviet Union." He declared that if an idea is "Soviet-spawned", the professional communist "must say in effect: 'This is infallibly correct. There are no flaws in it whatsoever!' Anyone even hinting at a flaw is to be denounced as a liar and a slanderer of the Soviet Union."

BUDENZ realized that "the professional Red must next recognize that his life and career may be secretly and repeatedly studied by Soviet agents." "Properly disciplined, the professional Communist must always be ready to be at the command of any one of the men of the mist (Soviet apparatus agents) who may present himself." He found the Communist movement to be "the Red strait-jacket which turns men of courage into Russian robots."

He particularly resented the fact that American Communists were but servants of Moscow. He was offended by what he termed "the organized deceit planned against the American people." "I felt keenly the conspiracy of which I was a part--to drug the American people with opium dreams of a world that did not exist. The drug, I began to see, would be fatal to our national existence. Was it therefore not my duty to drop my odious role, and cease injuring my country?"

Life in the Communist Party became "this jailed life." He accuses Party leaders of being guilty of "mental and moral acrobatics." He mentions "the complete surrender of the will to Moscow's dictates." He deplored the "extreme intellectual degradation to which the Communists must submit." He found the Party guilty of the "abandonment of all moral political standards." He felt that the Party promotes the chief leader "into something even more autocratic and all-knowing than the ancient Asiatic potentates. It produces a servility which stifles and stultifies. The Communist Party in the United States aped the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and elsewhere in following the Fuehrer principle to the point of idolatry."

In discussing the point at which he reached the final stage of defection, BUDENZ says... "The Duclos article (an article published in 1945, written by Jacques Duclos, leading French Communist, in which he criticized the Earl Browder line which the American CP had been following during the war years) had nothing to do with my decision, but a discussion I had with Foster (William Z., who succeeded Browder in the leadership of the American CP in 1945) about it did. In all conversions there is a final straw and this talk with the coming chief of the Communists furnished mine."

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In the conversation with Foster, the latter stated to Budenz...
"until the Soviet regime governs the earth, a state of war will exist."
Foster also told Budenz... "The two chief enemies of the Soviet Union
and progress are American imperialism and the Vatican. They are
eternal foes of Socialism and have to be fought endlessly."

"That night (after the conversation with Foster) I went over the
conversation with Margaret (wife of Budenz), and told her that a return
to the Church involved a complete break with the Communist organiza-
tion. This was perfectly agreeable to her."

"My return to the Church was not a negative act. I was not a
Catholic because I was anti-Communist; it was the other way around."
"The bankruptcy of materialism had furnished the impetus to abandon
Communism."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~9. Richard WRIGHT

Wright was a member of the Party for only two years, both of which were rather tumultuous. There commenced at once the building up of resentments. He was regarded with dislike and suspicion because he was considered an "intellectual". Said Wright... "I was shocked to hear that I, who had been only to grammar school, had been classified as an intellectual."

Other shocks followed, bringing unhappiness and disillusionment. "I learned, to my dismay, that the black Communists in my unit had commented on my shined shoes, my clean shirt and the tie that I had worn. Above all, my manner of speech had seemed an alien thing to them."

He commenced to take notes on the life of a fellow Party member, Ross, for the purpose of writing a story. This frightened the Party and he was told to stay away from Ross. He demonstrated his rebelliousness, asserting... "But your decision does not apply to me. I'll be damned if I'll act as if it does."

When he opposed the Party's position on an issue... "It was whispered that I was trying to lead a secret group in opposition to the Party. I had learned that denial of accusations was useless."

"I had spent a third of my life traveling from the place of my birth to the North just to talk freely, to escape the pressure of fear. And now I was facing fear again. I was already afraid that the stories I had written would not fit into the new, official mood. Must I discard my plot-ideas, and seek new ones? No. I could not. My writing was my way of seeing, my way of living, my way of feeling; and who could change his sight, his sense of direction, his senses?"

At a Party conference in New York City he alone had opposed the dissolution of the John Reed Clubs (Communist literary fronts). Wright commented... "I knew that my stand would be interpreted as one of opposition to the Communist Party, but I thought: 'To hell with it.'"

With the dissolution of the John Reed Clubs... "I was free of all Party relations. I avoided unit meetings for fear of being subjected to discipline. To my astonishment I heard that Buddy Neilson had branded me 'a smuggler of reaction.' I decided that my relationship with the Party was about over. I should have to leave it." When a Party leader remonstrated with Wright, the latter retorted... "Maybe I don't belong in the Party--I've had too damn much crazy trouble in the Party."

Even then, Wright had difficulty divesting himself of his Communism. He said... "I wanted to be a Communist, but my kind of Communist." "I wanted to tell him that I was through, but I was not ready to bring matters to a head."

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Soon afterwards he finally resigned. In departing from the Party he made the following statement... "Comrades, for the past two years I have worked daily with most of you. Despite this, I have for some time found myself in a difficult position in the Party. What caused this difficulty is a long story which I do not care to recite now; it would serve no purpose. But I tell you honestly that I think I've found a solution of my difficulty. I am proposing here tonight that my membership be dropped from the Party rolls. No ideological differences impel me to say this. I simply do not wish to be bound any longer by the Party's decisions. I should like to retain my membership in those organizations in which the Party has influence, and I shall comply with the Party's program in those organizations. I hope that my words will be accepted in the spirit in which they are said. Perhaps sometime in the future I can meet and talk with the leaders of the Party as to what tasks I can best perform."

Wright then says... "I walked to the door and out into the night and a heavy burden seemed to lift from my shoulders. I was free."

I should grasp and emerge from shadows; training to see the right way and

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~10. Louis FISCHER

In his defection process Fischer uses the word "Kronstadt" symbolically. He points out that Alexander Berkman was pro-Soviet until "the draconic Soviet suppression of the sailors' revolt on the Island of Kronstadt near Petrograd embittered him against the entire Soviet regime." Fischer thereafter refers to "Kronstadt" as the turning point in one's devotion to Communism or to the Soviet Union. He says that he "had no Kronstadt for many years."

Although he had entertained misgivings and doubts, and had "rebelled against the fawning adulation and saccharine glorification of Joseph Stalin", his disenchantment was only "slowly maturing." "But no conscious 'Kronstadt' threatened, and if it had, Hitler's advent in 1933 would have prevented me from rejecting the Soviet regime." "The Spanish Civil War postponed my 'Kronstadt'. "For the moment, however, the Moscow government's role in Spain mellowed my emotional, if not my intellectual, antagonism to it, and I hesitated to attack. The scales in which I weighed the pros and cons of Sovietism were precariously balanced. A feather would tip them against Russia."

This accumulation of anti-Soviet sentiment in his system found its Kronstadt in the Soviet-Nazi Pact of August 1939. This Pact... "which committed the Soviet government to the course it has pursued from that day to this. The Pact produced my 'Kronstadt.'" It was Fischer's "ideological melting point". "Others did not leave the train to stop at 'Kronstadt' until Russia invaded Finland in December, 1939. Finland was their ideological melting point." "The timing of one's 'Kronstadt' depends on a variety of objectives and temperamental factors."

He explained that some devotees are "so obsessed with the crimes of the capitalist world that they remain blind to the crimes and bankruptcy of Bolshevism. Not a few use the defects of the West to divert attention from the hideous horrors of Moscow."

He points out, however, that for some... "A changed outlook or bitter experience may wean him from Stalinism." There are others, he feels, who desert Communism "because it is not secure enough, because it zigzags and flipflops and thus deprives him of the stability he craves." In any event, Fischer is of the opinion that "every Communist is a potential anti-Communist and should be wooed."

Concerning himself, he said... "I thought, in my Soviet phase, that I was serving humanity. But it is only since then that I have really discovered the human being."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~11. Andre GIDE

Gide was never a member of the Party, but declared that he had always been a Communist at heart without knowing it. His actual acceptance of the Communist philosophy came simultaneously with a trip to Russia in June 1936, at the invitation of the Soviet Society of Authors. He went to Russia "full of high hopes." He came back utterly disillusioned.

In Gide, therefore, there was no gradual development of disaffection. It was abrupt, and his decision was reached with his "on the spot" survey of conditions in Russia. On his return from Russia, he remarked. . . "There was in my Soviet adventure something tragic. I had arrived there a convinced and enthusiastic follower in order to admire a new world, and they offered me, to tempt me and to win me, all the prerogatives and privileges which I abhorred in the old world."

Before his trip, Gide had made very favorable comments concerning the Soviets. These were made at a time, however, when Gide "still had the naivete to believe". He said later. . . "I wish that I could still believe it." In speaking out against the Soviet Union, he felt. . . "The future of humanity and the fate of its culture are at stake."

He speaks of his welcome in the Soviet Union. . . "all these favors reminded me constantly of the privilege and differences where I had hoped to find equality. When I escaped from officials and went amongst the workers, I discovered that most of them lived in the direst poverty, while I was offered a ceremonial banquet every evening." "It surprised me to find so great a difference between the best and the common lot, such excessive privileges beside such depths of poverty."

Gide mentions the "total absence of individuality" resulting from "conformity" and "uniformity." "There can be only one opinion, the right one. And each morning Pravda tells the people what they need to know and must believe and think."

"The disappearance of capitalism has not brought freedom to the Soviet workers -- it is essential that the proletariat abroad should realize this fully. It is of course true that they are no longer exploited by shareholding capitalists, but nevertheless they are exploited, and in so devious, subtle and twisted a manner that they do not know any more whom to blame." And. . . "One cannot fail to be shocked by the indifference shown by those in power toward their inferiors."

He found "all the old layers of society forming again." It is a "new kind of aristocracy, and not an aristocracy of intellect or ability, but an aristocracy of right-thinkers and conformists." There is a "dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy." "The voters have merely the right of electing those who have been chosen for them beforehand."

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"It is evident that all the worst and most reprehensible features of capitalist society are being re-established." Gide also found more. "I doubt whether in any country in the world -- not even in Hitler's Germany-- have the mind and spirit ever been less free, more bent, more terrorized over and indeed vassalized -- than in the Soviet Union."

"The Soviet Union has deceived our fondest hopes and shown us tragically in what treacherous quicksand an honest revolution can founder. The same old capitalist society has been re-established, a new and terrible despotism crushing and exploiting man, with all the abject and servile mentality of serfdom."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~12. Ignazio SILONE

It took Silone a long time to travel the road from the inner circle of European Communists to the point of voluntary defection. Discouragement and disillusionment were the factors which undermined his faith.

"And what a bitter disillusionment it was, as the years went by and the new regime strengthened itself and its economic system got into shape and the armed attacks from abroad ceased, to see the long-promised ultimate democratization failing to come, and, instead, the dictatorship accentuating its repressive character."

One of his experiences in the Comintern became what Silone calls "a kind of symbol for me." The British comrades had been told to tell their party members to declare they would submit to the discipline of the central committee of the British trade unions, and then, in practice, should do exactly the contrary. The English comrade interrupted... "But that would be a lie." Silone comments... "Loud laughter greeted this ingenuous objection, frank, cordial, interminable laughter, the like of which the gloomy offices of the Communist International had perhaps never heard before. The joke quickly spread all over Moscow, for the Englishman's entertaining and incredible reply was telephoned at once to Stalin and to the most important offices of State, provoking new waves of mirth everywhere. The general hilarity gave the English Communist's timid, ingenuous objection its true meaning. And that is why, in my memory, the storm of laughter aroused by that short, almost childishly simply little expression--'But that would be a lie'--outweighs all the long, heavy oppressive speeches I heard during sittings of the Communist International, and has become a kind of symbol for me."

Silone began to find... "The increasing degeneration of the Communist International into a tyranny and a bureaucracy filled me with repulsion and disgust."

He noted "the utter incapacity of the Russian Communists, including Lenin and Trotsky, to be fair in discussing opinions that conflicted with their own. The adversary simply for daring to contradict, at once became a traitor, an opportunist, a hireling. An adversary in good faith is inconceivable to the Russian Communists."

His disaffection grew. "Days of somber discouragement followed for me. I asked myself: Have we sunk to this? Those who are dead, those who are dying in prison, have sacrificed themselves for this? The vagabond, lonely, perilous lives that we ourselves are leading, strangers in our own countries -- is it all for this? My depression soon reached that extreme stage when the will is paralyzed and physical resistance suddenly gives away."

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"Realization came, however, slowly and with difficulty during the course of the succeeding years. And to this day I go on thinking it over, trying to understand better."

Of his final defection, Silone explains..."It is not easy to free oneself from an experience as intense as that of the underground organization of the Communist Party. Something of it remains and leaves a mark on the character which lasts all one's life."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~13. Stephen SPENDER

Spender's brief membership in the Party was not the limit of the overall period of his attachment to and detachment from the Communist movement. For many years before he was pushed into the movement by the blandishments of Harry Pollitt of the British CP, Spender had opposed much of what he witnessed in capitalism. Nor did his separation from the Party cure him at once of his communism. His anti-capitalist views continued unabated, but his discard of communism as the solution was a gradual process.

Interestingly enough, his incipient disenchantment coincided with his joining the British CP. "Looking back, I can see that my self-criticism begins with my first interview with Pollitt, when he spoke of the necessity of hating capitalism. In fact, I felt no such hatred in my heart."

"It was Spain which involved me in my first practical experience of working politically with other people. This action which had first made me a Party member also took me beyond and outside the Party. For, I soon began to realize that even if the directing and organizing force behind the support for the Spanish Republic was Communist, the real energy of the Popular Front was provided by those who had a passion for liberal values."

It was in Spain that Spender's mind became somewhat sated with the Communist way of looking at things. Of Fascist atrocities he felt "furious", but "when the supporters of Franco talked of Red atrocities, I merely felt indignant that people should tell such lies." Concerning his developing antagonism to such an outlook, he comments... "During the Spanish War it dismayed me to notice that I thought like this myself." "I gradually acquired a certain horror of the way in which my mind worked. It was clear to me that unless I cared about every murdered child impartially, I did not really care about children being murdered at all."

He returned to England after his visit to Spain and gave expression to the anti-communist views which had commenced to mature. "I wrote an article protesting against the propaganda which enrolled young men in the International Brigade without it being explained to them that this was a Communist-controlled organization. This article did not please the Communists." "For the Communists, the Spanish War was a phase in their struggle for power."

According to Spender, some feel that Communism is bound ultimately to increase the quantity and quality of human happiness and that therefore the theory justifies the vice. The developmental nature of his conversion away from communism is shown by his answer to this view... "During these years I gradually decided that I did not think so."

He found that the Communists "believe their line is completely identifiable with the welfare of humanity and the course of history, so that everyone outside it exists only to be refuted or absorbed into the same line." This, he felt, results in "a dehumanizing of the Communists themselves." The result would be the dehumanizing of society.

He speaks of "the Communist orthodoxy which produced an increasingly deadening effect on all discussions of ideas." He noted that the intellectual Communist "seemed extremely interested in theory, very little in evidence which might conflict with theory." The same disregard for scrupulousness in anything but theory applies to behavior. The end justifies the means. Thus the correspondent of the Communist paper took a quite pedantic pleasure in telling me that it was necessary to lie."

Spender found that the Communists... "believe in making the poor militant, but not in loving their neighbors. They accepted hatred as the mainspring of action." "Apart from the necessity of serving the Party, they were under no obligation to discipline vanity, malice, officiousness and treachery in themselves. Indeed these things might well become virtues if they were useful to the Party. Often I found that a human and sympathetic Communist was a bad Communist to the extent that he was human and sympathetic, and that he was well aware of this himself."

He concluded... "Nor, in the light of Russian experience, can one believe that Communism or any other party would produce dictators, bureaucrats and police who would be willing to 'wither away.'"

"My conclusion is, though, that the Communist Parties of the world, as they are organized today, would not make a better world. They might even make a far worse one. The reason why I think this is that too much power is concentrated in the hands of too few people. These few people are so protected from criticism of their conduct on any except Party lines, that neither they themselves, nor anyone else is protected from their worst human qualities: savagery, vindictiveness, envy, greed and lust for power."

Spender comments that it was the "virtues of love and pity and a passion for individual freedom which had brought me close to Communism. The Communists told me that these feelings were 'bourgeois.' The Communist, having joined the Party, has to castrate himself of the reasons which have made him one."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~14. Hede MASSING

Of the things which Mrs. Massing experienced and which caused her defection, she comments... "I did not learn all this immediately. It took a long time. These facts hammered their way into my consciousness, gradually, slowly. I did not want to know. I grabbed, as at a straw, each ever-so-slight a piece of good news."

She and her husband (Paul) spent some time in Moscow and she found much to comment on concerning conditions in Russia. She speaks of a Russian man and his wife, saying... "Careful and cautious as they were, they could not help but betray the great secret that they had almost nothing to eat, in spite of the fact that both of them worked!"

She preferred to do her shopping at the shop for foreign specialists, explaining... "I did not let him (Paul) do it at all because I did not want him to go through the humiliation walking with a suitcase full of food through a cordon of hungry children outside the shop. He would have refused to eat had he seen this."

She states that it was not so much the physical hardships in Russia that impressed her. "All of that I expected and had been prepared for. It was the great lie. The great lie that dominated everyone's life, every conversation. The lie to which everyone had adapted. The papers, the books, the movies, and the theatres were lying; your co-workers, your friends. The lie, the lie, wherever you went!"

She pondered over the disparity between the wages and the cost of things a Russian woman must buy, and then asked... "What does communism hold for her? Once you have begun thinking like this, there is little hope. Your eyes have been opened, so to speak, and they get bigger and bigger with amazement when you observe what people will endure. Once you have made this fatal step in observing the life of the Russian individual, you are lost for the Soviet Union."

She recalls "when children were called upon to spy on their parents; to report negativism, derogatory remarks, religious inclinations, or religious services attended, to tell whether their mother really had been sick or had just washed her clothes, cleaned her miserable dwelling, or even relaxed, instead of attending those endless, ludicrous meetings"

She rebelled at the "police terror and child exploitation." She found "physical hardship and moral degradation and unnecessary humiliation." She saw "class difference". "How I started to hate the regime once I understood how utterly helpless these people were and how they were taken advantage of! Once I knew there were not enough free hospitals, not enough nurseries, not enough care for the mothers before and after birth, no free vacations, and not 'less work' and 'better pay' and an 'easier life'; then I saw clearly that there was nothing of what I had expected. Absolutely nothing. A great, tremendous lie!"

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Speaking of the Communist Party, she said... "Like a feudal ruling class, its members live completely separated from the rest of the population in enclosed sections of towns and suburbs. The apartments of the officials to which I was taken were guarded by sentries. It would have been impossible to enter without my hosts. The dachas were enclosed by barbed wire, with sentries stationed every few yards. They had their own shops, their own restaurants, their own movie, their own library and their own wonderfully equipped hospital, the envy of every Moscovite who did not 'belong'."

Her husband dismissed the conditions she told him she had found as "symptoms of a transition period." Of the effect on her, she writes... "It was only because I was so young and so blinded and so happy with Paul that I could stand it as long as I did." "We left Moscow in the early spring of 1931. We had gone through an important experience and had lost a great hope."

From Moscow, Mrs. Massing and her husband moved to Berlin, settling in a "proletarian district. The fact that she had not yet detached herself from the movement is shown by the following... "The very fact that we settled in a proletarian district indicates to me, today, that though we had been terribly disillusioned by the 'Soviet Fatherland', we had not fully identified the German party with Russia and considered ourselves still Socialists."

Her defection tendencies were also delayed, or retarded, by the argument that "we must fight fascism, and who is going to do it but the Communists, with the help of the Russians? And that was easy to accept."

Mrs. Massing fell into the service of Ignace Reiss, in the Soviet Intelligence apparatus in Western Europe. She had met Reiss through Richard Sorge. Several years later, Reiss defected from Stalinism, and wrote a letter to Stalin denouncing the Soviet system. He was soon murdered. Of Reiss, Mrs. Massing reports... "I had come to admire him immensely and to trust his judgements implicitly -- in fact, this was to pay the most important part in my eventual split with Stalinism."

"For though the system of private property is abolished, the ruthless and uninkibited exploitation of man is practiced as nowhere else in the world."

After she served the espionage work of Reiss in Europe, she served the Soviet apparatus in the United States. Of one part of her work in the U.S., she comments... "My surveillance of Ludwig Lore (Lore had been dropped from the American CP but was engaged in the Soviet apparatus) produced a terrific repercussion within myself. It was as though layers and layers of casings covering my conscience had been pierced and shed. It may seem odd that I so suddenly recognized my position. But perhaps I can make it clear by saying that for the first time I felt definitely

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cheapened. Of course this came in addition to other small and large disappointments and disillusionments. Not only that I had been made to do something I disliked and resisted; but that I was doing it in spite of reluctance. And that I went about it, just as I had been ordered, though I was ashamed and uneasy about it. It was this surveillance that made it clear to me beyond a doubt with whom I was dealing and what I was doing. I was a Russian agent. Nothing more, nothing less. What would they order me to do next. I was frightened. I must get out."

She also adds... "The breaking away from the movement, whatever function one might hold within it, does not come in a flash. It is a slow painful process. It is not a decision one makes, but a decision that grows. It grows slowly in the beginning. It is nourished by disillusionment. And then finally comes the days when one is sick enough. And still it is like renouncing your religion, your family, your life's work, the taking leave from all your friends -- all at once."

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15. Whittaker CHAMBERS

The gradual process of Chambers' defection from the Party is brought out by his rhetorical question and the answer which he gives to it. "How did you break with Communism? My answer is: Slowly, reluctantly, in agony." "I do not know how far back it began." "But I date my break from a very casual happening." He was watching his child, and noted the "delicate convolutions of her ear"; he then realized that "they could have been created only by immense design." And "design presupposes God."

Chambers points out that... "There is a difference between the act of breaking with Communism, which is personal, intellectual, religious, and the act of breaking with the Communist Party, which is organizational. I began to break with Communism in 1937. I deserted from the Communist Party about the middle of April 1938."

"A Communist breaks because he must choose at last between irreconcilable opposites -- God or Man, Soul or Mind, Freedom or Communism."

In the gradual process of defection, Chambers points out some of the problems which must vex the mind of the disaffected. "For the Communist who breaks with Communism must break not only with the power of its vision and its faith. He must break in the full knowledge that he will find himself facing the crisis of history, but this time without even that solution which Communism presents, and crushed by the knowledge that the solution which he sought through Communism is evil against God and man."

Chambers generalizes in the following language, his reasons for defecting... "if Communism were evil I could no longer serve it." He further reasoned that "that was true regardless of the fact that there might be nothing else to serve, that the alternative was a void."

In reaching his decision he was affected in much the same way as Hede Massing by the death of Ignace Reiss. Said Chambers, "Reiss' death moved me deeply." Chambers also mentioned another incident of a similar nature, to which Bentley referred in her defection process. Chambers commented... "But another murder touched me closely -- that of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Barnard College graduate, Midwestern American, former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., long an underground worker in the Soviet apparatus. The thought of this intensely feminine woman, coldly murdered by two men, sickened me in a physical way, because I could always see her in my mind's eye."

He also pays tribute to the influence of a book in his defection -- "Assignment in Utopia (by Eugene Lyons) was one of the books that influenced my break with Communism."

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Chambers points out that "a man's break with Communism is intensely personal. Hence the account of no two breaks is likely to be the same. The reasons that made one Communist break may seem without force to another ex-Communist. Others remain Communists for years, warmed by the light of its vision, firmly closing their eyes to the crimes and horrors inseparable from its practical politics. One day they have to face the facts. They are appalled at what they have abetted."

He relates that in the late summer of 1937, an underground colleague named Keith left the Soviet apparatus and returned to the open Communist Party in Los Angeles. Of this incident Chambers says... "When I shook hands with Keith in Washington... he did not know what lay behind my eyes as I wished him well or with what friendly envy I stood watching his car head for the West. For I already knew what I could not tell him -- that I, too, must soon go out of the Communist Party by a road that could never be as simple as Keith's."

Of his road, he says... "so great an effort, quite apart from its physical and practical hazards, cannot occur without a profound upheaval of the spirit. No man lightly reverses the faith of an adult lifetime, held implacably to the point of criminality. He reverses it only with a violence greater than the force of the faith he is repudiating. It is not a matter of leaving one house and occupying another -- especially when the second is manifestly in collapse and the caretakers largely witless."

"The world outside Communism, the world in crisis, lacks a vision and a faith. There is before these ex-Communists absolutely nothing. Behind them is a threat. For they have, in fact, broken not with the vision, but with the politics of the vision."

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VI. THE DEFECTION OF TITO*

1. Tito

Born Josip Broz in May 1892, in the Croatian village of Kumrovec, he grew up in what was then part of the old Austrian-Hungarian Empire. He became a locksmith and later a skilled metal worker, early interested in the conditions of working men and in the Social Democratic Party. Compulsory military service in the Imperial Army resulted in his capture by the Russians and a long imprisonment in Russia which included the period during the Russian October Revolution. Escaping to Siberia, he joined the Red International Brigade organized by the Bolsheviks. From 1921-28 he became a militant activist in the Communist underground in Yugoslavia; this period ended with his imprisonment by the Yugoslav Government until 1934. From 1934 until 1936 he served at the Comintern in Moscow as a Yugoslav representative, returning to his country after this period and becoming Secretary General of the Yugoslav Party in 1937. During the war years, he organized and led the Yugoslav Partisans who, at the end of the war, achieved undisputed control of Yugoslavia and established a Communist government. As head of the Government, he ruled the country and Party during the years following the war and, in 1948, led both out of the Soviet Orbit by virtue of breaking off relations with Moscow as the culmination of conflicts with Soviet policy toward Yugoslavia. He remains a Communist.

2. Why He Became a Communist

A member of a poverty-stricken peasant family in Croatia, Tito early became an apprentice in a locksmith's shop where he was exposed to trade union talk and indoctrinated into socialist ideas by 1909. By his 18th birthday he "was filled with ambition to do something about these conditions"; he also was "an ardent sympathizer of the Social-Democratic Party and looked forward eagerly to joining a trade union." Poor living conditions, low wages and high costs of living pursued him in most of his early jobs. Yet he managed to travel in Germany and in the Austro-Hungarian Empire by taking jobs in various factories where he learned much about workers and trade union activities.

He was forced to undergo military duty in the Austro-Hungarian Army at the age of 21, by which time his socialistic ideas had been firmly fixed. Intensely nationalistic, he resented the Hapsburg regime and said of the Imperial Army... "it was an army of oppression which not only held my people in subjection but served as an instrument to enslave other nations." When World I broke out, he "looked upon war as offering a chance to free our country from the yoke of the Hapsburg monarchy." Otherwise, he felt that he had nothing to fight for.

Captured by the Russians in a Carpathian campaign, he studied the Russian language and read Russian classics while held as prisoner-of-war.

* This story of Tito's defection is based on the book "Tito Speaks" by Vladimir Dedijer.

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While hospitalized in a camp near the Volga River he became acquainted with some anti-Tsarist Russians. In the winter of 1916-17, he was in a camp in the Urals when the Russian revolution came. He made the acquaintance of a group of Russian workers, Bolsheviks, and with them began to read some of Lenin's writings. As trouble mounted in Russia, he escaped to St. Petersburg but was recaptured by the Imperial Police; re-transferred to the Urals, he managed to escape by train to Siberia. Arriving in Siberia, his train was met by a group of workers saying "This is Soviet Government." He became a member of the Red International Guard, consisting of prisoners-of-war who had joined the Bolsheviks. During this period he read Bolshevik papers and Lenin's pamphlets.

Tito did not return to his own country until 1920. The area was gripped in the struggles of varying factions trying to establish a new government. A newly formed Communist Party of Yugoslavia put up its candidates to help write the new Constitution; Tito took part in this campaign in Zagreb. Later, in a village where he had gone to work, he and friends "secretly started our political work again." Having no contact with the underground cells of the Communist Party, he had to seek them out. Winning their confidence, he soon became elected to membership in a District Party Committee.

He comments... "My early life in my own country and my travels and jobs in Europe had already made me a Socialist, but I still had much to learn. The years as a soldier, a prisoner of war, a witness of the Russian October Revolution, a refugee among the nomadic Kirghiz people, had matured me and enabled me to understand better what I now saw." Tito had become an ardent and militant Communist in his own country.

3. His Pre-War Activities

Essentially a man of action and not an intellectual, Tito became completely submerged in the adversities besetting the Yugoslav Party in its efforts to win a new government for Yugoslavia and to improve the lot of workers. His own working-man background, his nationalism, the weakness and factions of the outlawed Party, the persecutions by the legal Government all meant that Tito, for many years, became literally too occupied to question the purposes of Soviet Communism. Indeed, for a long time there was nothing for him to question; the activities of the Yugoslav Party received little attention from Moscow.

Tito, a born leader, rapidly increased his responsibilities in trade union work and in the Party organization. He did so in the face of ever increasing vigilance by Yugoslav authorities and deteriorating economic conditions throughout the country. The Party appointed him secretary of the Metal Workers' Union for all of Croatia; he was 35 years old and said... "the event was a decisive point in my life." Throughout the period of 1921-28, Tito achieved such notoriety that his arrest and trial in 1928 merited considerable publicity. At this trial, he stated... "I admit that I have propagated Communism. I tried to point out to the proletariat all

the injustices done to them." He was sentenced to five years hard labor.

During his prison years, he never stopped his Communist activity; he formed cells within the prison and smuggled in Communist literature. He continued this clandestine work until his final release in 1934. Of this period, he commented. . . "In the most trying hours through dismal nights and endless interrogation and maltreatment, during days of killing solitude in cells and close confinement, were always sustained by the hope that all these agonies were not in vain, that there was a strong and mighty country, however far away, in which all the dreams for which we were fighting had been fulfilled. For us it was the homeland of the workers, in which labor was honored, in which love, comradeship, and sincerity prevailed."

After his release, Tito rose steadily in the Party and was selected to go to Moscow in 1934 to work in the Comintern as a Yugoslav representative. This trip was not an unqualified success for he found little understanding of what he felt to be the problems of the Yugoslav Party. Nor was he entirely enthusiastic about conditions in the USSR. "My whole being rebelled against what I saw in Moscow." Yet he comments. . . "But it was my revolutionary duty at the time not to criticize and not to help alien propaganda against that country, for at that time it was the only country where a revolution had been carried out and where socialism had to be built." Furthermore, speaking of the conditions in Russia, he said. . . "I, like many others, thought this was only a temporary internal matter which would be gradually cleared up."

Tito, concerned primarily with Yugoslavia, returned to that country in 1936; by 1937, he had become Secretary General of the Party. Regardless of his feelings in Moscow, he apparently had no doubts about the unity of the Communist movement. Throwing himself into the struggles in Yugoslavia during the days before World War II, his fervor is shown in an address he made to a Party conference. . . "The Party must engage in large-scale activity for the unity of the working class, and promote a united struggle of the masses against the dictatorship and for democratic and national rights." Tito had become more than an individual Communist; he had become the embodiment of a whole national Party. Its struggle was his life and his way of life; it is doubtful whether he could conceive of any other.

4. Reasons For Defecting

Tito's "defection" (and because of him, that of a whole Party) was not a defection from the principles and theories of Communism, but sprang from a refusal to submit to the dictates of Moscow on matters concerning Yugoslavia's national interests. Tito has never renounced Communism but rather he has accused Stalin of failing to live up to its teachings. For Tito, Communism was the answer to his country's ills; Stalin's policies and "cooperation" ran counter to Tito's conception of how to treat these ills. He said. . . "the issue here, first and foremost, is the relationship between one State and another." The story of Tito's defection is, in effect, the story of an entire Communist Party more than the personal history of an individual. Yet the man himself cannot be separated from the events through which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has emerged.

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In understanding the defection of Tito, the key seems to lie in his intense nationalism, in his intimate association with events within his own country, and in his unchallenged position within that country at the end of World War II. He was not a Communist who spent years away from his country during decisive periods of its history and of the Communist Party's struggles. He, more than anyone else and largely on his own initiative, revitalized and rebuilt the Yugoslav Party. His leadership of the Partisans during the war years and his successes in liberating Yugoslavia were undertaken for the most part without material, and frequently without moral, support from the Kremlin. His nationalistic feelings, nurtured by adversities, caused him to comment... "No one has the right to love his country less than the Soviet Union." These personal characteristics, coupled with a somewhat crude Soviet policy toward Yugoslavia, led to Tito's break with Moscow.

This break slowly gained momentum over a period of several years, the years of Tito's resistance in Yugoslavia and of Yugoslavia's attempts to recover political independence and economic viability after the war. There was nothing in the earlier conflicts, however, to suggest the tense days which were to come in 1948. Of the Soviet-German Pact of 1939, Tito says... "We accepted the pact like disciplined Communists, considering it necessary for the security of the Soviet Union, at that time the only Socialist State in the world." But though the pact was accepted, it did not alter the Yugoslav Party line in the general struggle against German and Italian imperialism; thus, Tito early asserted his independence of thought and action. When Moscow began a policy of strengthening its relations with the Royal Yugoslav Government in London at a time when Tito was denouncing that government and actively fighting the Germans, Tito reasoned this was an example of Moscow's failure to understand clearly the Yugoslav situation. Another such example he found in Moscow's warning to him that it would be a mistake to establish new organs of government in Yugoslavia; to Tito this meant... "we should have been unable to mobilize the majority of the people."

The Mihailovic situation brought on another conflict between Tito and the Soviet Government. Moscow ordered Tito's Partisans to achieve a true united national front and cooperate with Mihailovic (whom it identified as the chief resistance leader), thereby ceasing to give the UK and other allied Governments the impression that the Partisans were Communists and aiming at the Sovietization of Yugoslavia. Tito reacted with astonishment to this tactic, pointing out that Mihailovic was having little military success, was receiving little popular support among the people, and was even collaborating with the Germans. When the Soviets persisted in their support for Mihailovic, including plans to send a military mission to his headquarters, Tito finally reasoned that this was a purely political move -- to try and seize key positions in Mihailovic's headquarters instead of sending aid to the Partisans.

As the war progressed and the Partisans became more and more important, Tito set up the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation which was generally supported by the Yugoslav people. This Council proclaimed that no member of the Karageorgevic dynasty could return to the country and that Yugoslavia had become a federated state. "Moscow's reaction to our step was savage. They called the decisions... a stab in the back of the Soviet Union."

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Repeated requests for military aid for the Partisans went unfulfilled by Moscow. Tito grew increasingly impatient at the Soviet attitude. One telegram which he sent to Moscow read... "if you cannot send us assistance, then at least do not hamper us." He was discovering that Moscow found it difficult to tolerate any movement independent of itself.

Tito's meeting with Stalin in 1944 was not entirely harmonious because of the wartime conflicts. At this meeting, Tito disagreed with Stalin's interpretations of Yugoslavia's situation. At the suggestion that he take back King Peter, even temporarily, Tito found that "the blood rushed to my head that he could advise us to do such a thing."

A new phase of the conflict commenced. Tito notes... "The actions of the Soviet Union towards Yugoslavia from 1944 onwards show that Stalin wanted first of all to seize the key position in our country, to capture Yugoslavia's economy in order to seize the whole State leadership, to destroy all those moral and political values which the people had gained during the war, to wreck Yugoslavia's unity, to plunge us into fratricidal war for his benefit, and then to get the shattered country completely into his own hands." He found, too, that... "Stalin coolly and systematically prepared to subjugate Yugoslavia as the central point in southeastern Europe."

Tito began to denounce and resist the Soviet actions as incompatible with Soviet-Yugoslav friendship and the national interests of Yugoslavia. The Soviets were undertaking intensified efforts to recruit Yugoslav citizens for Soviet intelligence work behind the backs of Yugoslav officials. Moscow refused to believe Yugoslav complaints about the conduct of Red Army troops passing through Yugoslav territory. The Yugoslavs discovered that the Soviets were withholding information on foreign policy questions directly concerning Yugoslavia. There was a constant tone of disparagement toward Yugoslavia in all contacts with Soviet representatives and in the Soviet press. Yugoslav officials saw through Stalin's efforts to provoke distrust and conflict between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Yugoslavs were subject to unpleasant pressure by Moscow to establish joint-stock companies and a Soviet-Yugoslav bank, establishment which would obviously enable the Soviets to achieve complete control over the Yugoslav economy. Two such joint-stock companies which were established served to open the eyes of the Yugoslavs as to the effect on their economy.

In the field of foreign policy, Stalin demanded an immediate federation of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria--a step the Yugoslavs did not oppose in principle but which they did not wish to take place for several years. A Yugoslav delegation in Moscow was humiliated by being forced to sign a promise to consult the Soviet Government about their foreign policy. Relations between the two countries became increasingly strained and moved rapidly to a climax in 1948. As Yugoslavia became more recalcitrant, Soviet pressure against it mounted. The Soviets refused to extend a trade agreement, they dragged their feet on Yugoslav requests for armaments, they presented the Yugoslavs with what amounted to an ultimatum concerning the relations between the countries. When the Yugoslavs refused to bow

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under the pressure, the Soviets finally set the Cominform machinery in motion against Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Party followed Tito in breaking relations with the USSR.

Tito blames Stalin for the final break. "We did not lose faith in socialism; we began to lose faith in Stalin, who had betrayed the cause of socialism." Analysing Stalin's policies, Tito says... "Stalin's main weakness was that he had a superficial view of Yugoslavia." Stalin had a "deep distrust towards everything outside the Soviet Union." Tito believes that Stalin "never for a moment tried to understand that something new was happening in Yugoslavia; he did not perceive the new spirit that had prevailed in our Communist Party since 1937..."

Looking back on the causes of his break with Stalin, Tito says... "The cause of the conflict is simple. It is the aggressive tendencies of the Soviet Union towards Yugoslavia. The first State of the workers and peasants, which had roused such enthusiasm among the working masses of the whole world and had achieved such material success, had reached a stagnation point in its development. The trend towards State capitalism was disenfranchising the workers and causing the loss of much that had been gained in the October Revolution, and was also oppressing the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union; and abroad it was giving rise to expansionism, to a policy of spheres of influence. All this is the consequence of a line introduced by Stalin, especially from the thirties onwards, when instead of expanding the rights of the working class he relied on a state machine which had become not the servant of the community but its master."

Tito also comments... "When we review the history of the conflict today, we can rightly say that there were elements of disagreement between us as far back as 1941, from the first day of our revolution. As early as that the Soviet leaders revealed a tendency to direct our whole uprising in the interest neither of the Yugoslav peoples nor of the struggle against Hitlerism in general, but mainly in the way which best suited the interests of the Soviet Union as a State and its Greater-Russia policy." Speaking of the outcome of all the conflicts between the two countries, Tito says... "this in essence is a conflict between two conceptions of the relationship between States; it is a conflict between Soviet bureaucracy and the Yugoslav common people." "By their behavior towards the new Yugoslavia, a socialist country, the Soviet leaders showed tremendous inconsistency between words and deeds."

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VII. THE CUCCHI-MAGNANI CASE

1. Valdo Magnani

Magnani is an Italian intellectual who joined the CP Italy while a university student in 1936. Since 1947 he has been Provincial Secretary of the Reggio Emilia PCI Federation. In 1948 he was elected on the Communist Party ticket to the Chamber of Deputies. He is a professor by career.

On January 19, 1951, he delivered a speech at the Party Provincial Congress in Reggio Emilia, announcing his opposition to the Party on a number of matters. On January 27, 1951, he submitted his written resignation from the PCI.

2. Aldo Cucchi

Cucchi is also an Italian intellectual, a medical doctor by profession. He joined the PCI in 1936, and later became a member of the Directing Committee of the Bologna PCI Federation. In 1948 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies on the Communist ticket.

After the close of the Provincial Congress in which Magnani made his announcement of opposition to the Party, Cucchi joined Magnani in Rome where Magnani made known his intention to resign from the PCI. Cucchi joined him in his views, and on January 27, 1951, submitted his resignation from the PCI.

Magnani and Cucchi issued a joint statement concerning their differences with the PCI.

3. Why They Joined the PCI

Each gave as his reason for joining the Party the fact that he took "seriously the statutes, the program, the great human ideals" of the Party.

4. The Gradual Process of Defection

In neither case was the defection an abrupt act. It was a case, as they explained it, "of arriving at the conclusion of a similar crisis that had been developing." It was not an easy decision to reach. The process of defection included "various stages", each stage containing its "conflicting urges". As Magnani said, and to which statement Cucchi subscribed, these conflicts "were fighting in my conscience." The decision to resign from the Party was reached only "after long meditation." Its gradual and progressive character is attested to by the fact that the forces which encouraged the defection had "been increasingly evident in the Party's life in these last few years."

5. Reasons For Defecting

Both had found "that a free discussion (within the Party) was impossible." Concerning his speech to the Provincial Congress, Magnani said - "I had made the absurd but dutiful attempt to carry out an unbiased discussion

with the Party, and I had found it impossible." He asserted there were two alternatives open to him: "remaining bound to a discipline I no longer felt either formally or substantially, or to get out." Cuccchi said that he had "long since" adopted the political line enunciated by Magnani at the Provincial Convention, and, "I agreed with Magnani, and we decided to resign from the Italian Communist Party, continuing the fight, however, for the advent of socialism in Italy."

They both averred -- "Often even in Party documents, there are complaints about the scarce participation in the most important political debates, particularly in the lower-echelon organizations, and not only in these. Individual interventions are restricted to executive details, or confined to a mechanical repetition of the party lines. The party line is accepted mechanically, people do not dare to make objections - which however, remain in their mind, and unity become superficial."

They found "intimidation of the individual in the Party's internal life".

They objected to the undue role which had been cut out by the Party for the Soviet Union and the Red Army in bringing revolution to Italy. "There is an opinion, rather widespread among the comrades, that revolution may take a step forward only through war, and we must say that this opinion is usually tolerated in our party. They think that in the present stage of the world struggle, revolution can win only on the bayonets of an army crossing our borders. I know well that these comrades are thinking of the Red Army, or to the forces of the Popular Democracies. But the opinion still remains that the way of our borders crossed by the Red Army, without us having been attacked by others, represents a possible way of advance for the workers' movement in Italy." "It tends to make the party a foreign body in national life; it jeopardizes the solution of the basic problem of alliances through which national unity is formed under the leadership of the workers; it considers revolutionary development as something that comes from the outside and is foreign to the dialectical development of the class struggle in our country." They favored "defence of the Italian territory against any aggression from any part."

They also found that the party had become a "bureaucracy which ignores or refuses to discuss political situations and the line to be followed." It is "more inclined to work by police methods instead of political action."

They accused the party of organizing and leading desperate workers "blindly in the name of a myth - the Soviet paradise."

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